

PROBLEMS OF BOY LIFE

EDITED BY
J. H. WHITEHOUSE, M.P.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
THE BISHOP OF HEREFORD

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J. H. WHITEHOUSE, M.P.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN PERCIVAL

BISHOP OF HEREFORD

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INTRODUCTION

BEING allowed the privilege of writing a few words of introduction to this book, I desire to commend it to the sympathetic attention of all who care for social betterment and progress.

Of late years the public conscience has been stirred, and none too soon, to a sense of the dangers, moral and physical, involved in the overcrowded and squalid life of the working multitudes in our great cities; and thoughtful men are becoming unanimously of opinion that for our national well-being it is imperative that the conditions of this life should be altered without longer delay, and no reforms are more urgent than those that deal with the upbringing of the young.

Hence the special value of such a book as this, a value which is enhanced by the fact that the writers claim our attention, as having themselves personally worked at the problems with which they deal and as having thus acquired a first-hand knowledge of both the needs and the

difficulties which confront us in our endeavours to make up for the absent-mindedness of past years and the unheeded growth of vast slum populations whose lot is a discredit to our Christian civilisation.

J. HEREFORD.

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I

THE REFORM OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

BY J. H. WHITEHOUSE, M.P.

IN the subsequent chapters of this book many aspects of the questions which naturally arise in connection with the problems the book deals with are considered in detail. In the present chapter we desire only briefly to outline and suggest some of the questions which are closely connected with our system of elementary education, leaving their detailed examination, where necessary, for later chapters.

I. THE RELATION BETWEEN SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

The time is ripe for educational reform. Signs are not wanting that the long-continued religious controversy is drawing to an end. But if this be not true the new spirit in the nation will not longer allow the vital problems of education to be neglected. Its problems are the problems of social reform, and the general well-being of the nation will be achieved, not by temporary and unrelated policies, designed to relieve immediate distress, but by a system of education which will adequately train, guard, and develop the greatest assets of the nation—its youth. All economists,

experts, and social workers who have been brought into touch with modern problems are agreed upon the relation of unemployment to adolescent and child labour and regard an improved educational system as a matter of urgent necessity. So, too, do the authors of the authoritative Reports which have been presented to Parliament during the last year or two.

Both the Majority and the Minority Reports of the Poor Law Commission devote much attention to the consideration of these educational problems. But especially valuable is the Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on Continuation Schools. The facts of the case are there gathered together and marshalled with great care, skill, and accuracy, and the deductions which are made are very clearly established. It is such a Report, in short, as we should have expected from this committee when we remember the names of the men who composed it.

II. THE FAILURE TO TRAIN FOR LIFE: BOY LABOUR.

Our system of elementary education has made very slow progress indeed. It has kept for the most part in certain narrow grooves. If we entered upon any minute examination, we should find that the terms "code" and "cost" were in part responsible for this. We have not shown any considerable enterprise in amending it, though, during the time it has existed, we have seen unparalleled developments in our industrial life. The Elementary Education Act, an attempt at the greatest of all modern reforms, should above all things have been experimental and

adventurous in its working : it has been allowed to operate mechanically within fixed and narrow limits. The system under which an elementary school boy is trained has little relation to his after-life and to the industrial future that awaits him. Under that system many thousands of schoolboys leaving each year the Elementary Schools are driven, through their ignorance and the ignorance and poverty of their parents, into what are very aptly called blind-alley occupations. They leave the school, and without guidance or knowledge become van-boys, errand boys, newspaper boys, or the like. They go on the streets as traders, or they go to those many forms of industrial life where, owing to the specialisation of industry, they cannot hope to be absorbed as men. The old apprenticeship system has died away, in consequence of changed industrial conditions, but the demand for boy labour is ever increasing. The boy goes immature in mind and body, and during the years he spends in these blind-alley occupations he is not only under no educative influence, not only not learning any trade or industry which will give him a career in later life, but when he becomes a man he is worse off than on the day he left school. He is physically, morally, and mentally at a lower level. He has lost the little learning that he had. He has been subject to no discipline. He has deteriorated in every way, and it is not to be wondered at that such boys as young men are thrown on to the industrial scrap-heap in order that their places may be taken by other members of this unending army of boys. They not only enter the ranks of the unemployed, but speedily, too, the ranks of the unemployable. In this connection two extracts, the first from the Majority Report and the second

from the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, may be quoted. The first says :—

“The almost universal experience is that in large towns boys, owing to carelessness or selfishness on the part of the parents, or their own want of knowledge or foresight—for the parents very often have very little voice in the matter—plunge haphazard immediately on leaving school into occupations in which they earn wages sufficient to make them independent of parental control and disinclined for the lower wages of apprenticeships and workshops, and whence, if they remain, they are excluded when they come to manhood. According to the main statistical sources of information, we find the very serious fact emerges that between 70 and 80 per cent. of boys leaving Elementary Schools enter unskilled occupations. All our investigations go to show that there is a regular drift from such boys' occupations into the low-skilled labour market.

The Minority Report says :—

“There is no subject as to which we have received so much and such conclusive evidence as upon the extent to which thousands of boys, from lack of any sort of training or industrial occupation, grow up almost inevitably so as to become chronically unemployed or under-employed, and presently to recruit the ranks of the unemployable. We regard this perpetual recruitment of the unemployable by tens of thousands of boys who, through neglect to provide them with suitable industrial training, may be said to graduate into unemployment as a matter of course, as perhaps the gravest of all the grave facts which the Commission has laid bare.

The facts thus outlined as to the present working of our educational and industrial system will not be denied. There is a substantial measure of agreement between all parties as to the resultant evils. What are the remedies?

III. THE RAISING OF THE SCHOOL AGE.

There is general agreement that we are making a vital mistake in withdrawing our care and supervision of school children at an age when they most require them. All the Reports mentioned agree in recommending the raising of the school age. It is true that the Reports and opinions of experts vary as to the extent to which at once the school age should be raised, but there is this substantial measure of agreement, that it should be raised. All agree that we lose control of our children too soon. The separate recommendations of the Poor Law Report, of the Consultative Committee's Report, and others, are considered later, but here we may record a few very important figures. It is estimated—and it is a very careful estimate, probably under rather than over—that at the present time there are 211,000 children of school age—that is, between the ages of twelve and fourteen—who have obtained full-time exemption. They have gone in the main to blind-alley occupations, and we have lost in the majority of cases all control over them. Of these 211,000 we know there are only 40,000 in attendance at any sort of evening school or continuation school, so that we have 171,000 boys and girls between the ages of twelve and fourteen who are under no sort of educational care or discipline. These figures are of great importance, and in considering them we have to remember also that this total, large as it is, takes no heed whatever of the large number of children who are partially exempt from school attendance. It takes no notice whatever of the great army of child traders and the half-timers. If we go above the age of fourteen and consider the children from fourteen to

seventeen years of age, we find in round figures that there are 2,000,000, and of that number only 25 per cent. are under any sort of educational care. Seventy-five per cent. of these 2,000,000, between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, are under no sort of educational care. The case for raising the school age is established, and the gravity of the position, in view of the evidence, cannot be minimised.

IV. COMPULSORY CONTINUATION SCHOOLS.

We need not at the moment discuss the question as to what point the school age should be raised and what should be the conditions or exceptions for special districts. But the raising of the school age in itself and by itself cannot meet the national need that exists to-day. It will only be met by a great development in our educational facilities, in our types of schools, in our methods of instruction, and especially in our technical and manual training schools. Moreover, if we follow the advice of the Consultative Committee and raise the age for leaving school to fourteen, which is more cautious than the advice of the Poor Law Commissioners, that age is still too early at which to send a boy into the world and withdraw our care for him. We require a system of compulsory continuation schools from the time of leaving the school until some later age—say, seventeen or eighteen. Any such system of compulsory training must be accompanied by a statutory limitation of the hours of labour. It only requires to be stated to be proved that it would be absurd to expect a boy to work long hours in a factory or other employment at this period of his life and to reap any real benefit by a

system of instruction in evening schools. As to the kind of instruction to be given in these years of adolescence, it should aim not only at making him adaptable and resourceful, giving him technical training and the equipment necessary to enable him to make a career in later life, but it should aim also at his physical well-being, and it should bring to bear upon him moral influences, seeking to produce men qualified to discharge the duties of citizenship.

V. SECONDARY EDUCATION.

The question of Continuation Schools raises naturally the connection between Elementary and Secondary Schools. In the opinion of the present writer these terms should cease to have a class or caste significance. Elementary education should be suited to the needs of all young children. The conception of secondary education should be revised, and should include all forms of further education after the Elementary School. General, industrial, and manual training, the preparation of a boy for a trade, should not be considered outside the province of secondary education. Our ideal might well be to regard secondary education as including all aspects of the multiform system under which every child after passing through the elementary course should be prepared for his appropriate work in life, whether at the University or the workshop. We want to bring at once to an end the system under which there is a ladder from the Elementary School to the Secondary School for a few boys, whilst the others are prematurely sent to be sacrificed in improper forms of labour. Let us substitute for this ladder a great road along which all may travel, though at various

speeds and in different methods, to the point where each may appropriately begin the work in life for which he is fitted. It is idle to urge that many boys from elementary schools who are awarded free places in secondary schools are not fitted for and do not benefit from the work in the latter. The answer is that the reputed "dull" boy, or the boy whose aptitudes are other than academic, has to be trained and developed. It is no solution of the problem he affords to send him at fourteen to be ruined in unsuitable or non-progressive work. A national system of education should provide for each child the needed and appropriate training.

VI. INTERNAL REFORMS IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.

It is now generally agreed that the curriculum of the Elementary School is too limited. It is too exclusively literary. It attempts much and achieves little. A far greater amount of manual training must be introduced. The classes should be much reduced in size, and hard, machine-like methods thrown on one side. More adequate buildings should be provided.

Closely related to these points is the question of teaching. We look for a larger number of fully qualified teachers, and we believe that as we carry out internal reform we shall attract in an ever-increasing degree the type of men and women needed. Surely we want to aim at the same power of personal influence, the strongest of all influences, in the Elementary School, which we have used to so much advantage in our Secondary and Higher Schools generally. This new force in its fullness can only come with the improvements outlined.

VII. THE OUTDOOR LIFE OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN.

It is needless here to demonstrate the value to the nation of the system of organised games and outdoor life generally which is so great a feature of our Public Schools. The system, with all that it means to them in their moral and physical development, is almost unknown to the children of our Elementary Schools. In a few cases something has been done through the devotion of teachers who have sacrificed their leisure hours in the cause of their children. The regulation as to organised play enables more to be done, and the schools availing themselves of it occasionally take their children for an hour's play to one of the public parks. But it is obvious that an arrangement which, when it is taken the fullest advantage of, only means that a child will have organised games for two hours each week is only of value as marking the realisation of the inadequacy of our methods in the past and a desire to work towards a better system.

Let us remember why the life of our Elementary School children has been so cramped and unhealthy in the past, and then consider whether any remedy is possible. We have in the past, and we continue the practice to-day, built our Elementary Schools separate each from the other, in narrow and crowded streets, at the doors of the children for whom they are intended. The streets they line are frequently paved with granite blocks, and the noise of the traffic is with the teachers and children the day long. Building under such conditions, it necessarily follows that the amount of playground available is ludicrously inadequate. When we remember that the small piece of ground attached to the Elementary

School of many towns has frequently to be divided between girls, boys, and infants, and that when only a fraction of the children of the school are in it organised play of any kind becomes an impossibility, that it is never large enough for games like cricket or football, or (without rendering it useless for any other purpose) for the provision of, say, fives courts or tennis courts, it seems somewhat beside the mark to describe it as a playground at all. Some of the Elementary Schools are in a sadder plight. There is one within a few minutes' walk of the writer which has not an inch of playground. At its front is the narrow, noisy street, at its rear a railway, and in the classrooms so bounded and so disturbed the children pass all the school hours.

We need not go farther with this description of the existing conditions of school life in the crowded parts of our cities. They are well enough known to all interested in them. They mean that the gutter still remains the chief playground for our children, and that their life, out of school hours, is, in the main, unorganised and neglected.

What is the remedy? The writer would suggest that the time has arrived for us to cease to build schools, isolated from each other, in the crowded districts of our cities. Let us, instead, adopt the policy of building our schools in groups at certain bases, and at these bases provide accommodation for the children of a given section of the city. The situation of these bases is the question which immediately arises. Let us take East London for our example, for if the problem can be solved here, it can be solved far more easily in other towns. We do not think that the provision of country schools for town children

should always be an impossibility. But the immediate policy which we urge is that our schools should be built in groups around certain of our great open spaces. If, for example, in East London we gradually built around Victoria Park or very near to it a number of our Elementary Schools, we should ultimately have sufficient accommodation there for a considerable portion of the surrounding district. The children would be taken to school by train where necessary, or by the Council trams. In many cases they would be within walking distance of the schools. In most cases, with the assistance of train, or 'bus, or tram, no child would have to walk more than a mile each way, and the child who is not in a condition to walk this distance is not in a condition to be educated at all.

Something of what such a scheme as this would mean in the lives of the children may be imagined. They would be taken to schools situated amid country surroundings. They would exchange the scrap of crowded playground and the gutter of the noisy street for a hundred acres of grass and trees and water. The great park would be their playground, and a life would become theirs of a nature the possibility of which we have up to the present not even considered.

The objections to such a scheme will be numerous and weighty. One of the chief—the expense—may be anticipated. Possibly, at first, the scheme would mean additional expense. For the cause at stake we ought to be prepared to face that. But it is to be doubted whether ultimately this method of providing school places would be more costly than our present method. It must be remembered that we should work towards our ideal gradually. We should decide

upon a scheme which would only be fully carried out after many years. We should select our bases and define the boundaries for the children within which they were to find accommodation. Then, as new schools were required, they would be built, one by one, at the selected base. The increased expense would come, if it came at all, gradually.

But it is not unreasonable to believe that when our first group of schools had been completed at the selected base the cost of administration and maintenance would be less, proportionately, than under our present system. The schools would have a great park as a playing-ground, for this could be used in the daytime by the children of the schools without interfering with its use by the general public. The swimming bath or pool would be shared by all the schools at the base. So, too, would the kitchens and dining-rooms, if it were necessary to provide a simple meal for the children at mid-day. This need not be at the expense of the public. The school canteen would be established and would supply the necessary food at cost price. Necessitous children would, as now, have to be fed without charge. There are other features which, it appears, might be shared by all the schools with a consequent reduction of expense. This is not the place for details, and it is sufficient now to mention only a few of them. They include the gymnasium, the school concert-room, and special features like Art classrooms and museums.

The writer would, however, submit one further proposal which he believes to be possible of early adoption and which might lead ultimately to the larger schemes outlined above. It is that the school base should be tried within our cities in

miniature form. That is to say, in meeting the school needs in our ever-extending suburbs, we should build our schools in groups of at least four, it being a principle that at least four times as much playground is secured as would have been for a single school built on the old system. Sufficient ground would then be available for organised games. It would be easy to have a cricket pitch (if only matting), and football and hockey could be played. Fives and tennis courts would not be impossible. Apart from the gain in the matter of the physical health of the children, the system would be invaluable in other ways. There would be greater life for the children, with its moral and intellectual advantages. Inter-school life would spring up, fostered by inter-school competitions, which would not be exclusively athletic. Thus the school "spirit" would be brought into being, with all that this means. The system would be economical. There would be a saving of expense in sharing common features, such as the gymnasium, the kitchen, the workshop, the library. Probably, too, there would be a saving in the expense connected with the caretakers and cleaning.

VIII. THE PLAYGROUND OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.

It should be possible to have much of the class work done in the open air. The architecture of the playground requires to be planned as carefully as that of the school buildings themselves, so that as much outdoor life as possible, both for play and work, may be followed under the most appropriate conditions. It is surprising how little attention has hitherto been paid to this subject of the school playground. Had it been

otherwise, much more would have been possible to-day for the outdoor life of school children, even under our present method of building schools.

It is somewhat discouraging to find that although a departmental committee has recently been appointed by the President of the Board of Education to consider the amount of outdoor space necessary for elementary schools, the terms of its reference suggest that some weakening of the present regulations is contemplated. We plead for a great increase in the minimum requirements of the Board of Education. But we would urge, further, that better guidance should be given to Local Education Authorities on the planning and use of playgrounds. A model showing the best arrangements for a playground, including sites for out-door classes, for games requiring small space, for sand-heap, for flowers, even for pets, would be of the utmost value. The playground should not only be made more efficient but it should be more used. It should not be locked up in the summer evenings and on holidays whilst the children play in the neighbouring gutters !

IX. THE PHYSICAL CARE OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN.

No review of the needs of the elementary school would be adequate without some reference to the medical care of school children. The lessons to be derived from the experiments already made in this and other countries should now be applied. Medical inspection, admirable and necessary though it be, is not in itself sufficient. We look to the establishment of the school clinic, where the health of every scholar may be

adequately supervised and the requisite medical attention given. The constant medical oversight which is recognised as indispensable in a public school is not less necessary in schools where the health of the children is otherwise frequently sacrificed to the poverty, or the ignorance, or the neglect of their parents.

In the same connection we would plead for the provision of baths in elementary schools. We would have the bathroom used as a classroom and the lessons of health and cleanliness taught in the only possible way. Admirable, indeed, would it be if no further school were built without such a classroom, fitted with the simple shower-baths which have proved so beneficial in many of the elementary schools of Germany.

X. AN IDEAL.

Finally, our system of elementary education stands in great part condemned because it is a system which, intended for the poor, is inferior to that intended for other classes. In the schools of the poor we tolerate conditions unknown in the schools of the rich. Let us seek for a better national conception of what the Elementary School of the State should be. Let us put an end to its overcrowded classes and its inadequate buildings. Let us provide it with playing fields and all that makes for joy and health. Let us have the most capable and the best trained men and women to attempt within it the greatest of all human work. Let us remember in fixing its curriculum that the first and greatest of its aims should be to turn out noble men and women with the power of admiration, hope, love, and reverence. Let us as far as may be cease to allow elementary education to be weakened

and starved because of the ratepayers' burden ; instead of this let us place a larger responsibility for it upon the Imperial exchequer.

And let us work for the day when the Elementary School shall have become a school common to all classes in the nation because it shall have been recognised as a school where the best methods evolved by experience and applied by men and women worthy of their calling, under conditions of health and beauty and happiness, are producing citizens with cultivated brains, healthy bodies, and warm hearts, to enter upon the work of life.

II

THE ECONOMICS OF BOY LABOUR

BY R. H. TAWNEY

THERE has been in the last few years a remarkable concentration of attention upon the circumstances surrounding the entry of youths into industrial life, and a disposition to see in them one of the causes of the prevalence of adult unemployment. Such a view is, of course, not a new one. It was urged by several witnesses before the Labour Commission of 1894; it was given considerable emphasis in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade in the eighties of last century; and it has for a century been a fruitful source of the complaint of "overstocking the trade with boys" on the part of trade unionists. But it is only recently that the public have begun to see that the particular evils with which individual cases have long made people of experience familiar are not isolated instances of peculiar hardship or misfortune but the inevitable result of the conditions prevailing in modern industry, and that if they are to be remedied at all it must be by means of legislation. Ever since the reports of the early Factory Commissions, that kind of misuse of child labour which consists in getting children to work for long hours in unhealthy atmospheres has been

realised, and the principle that it should be checked by law—though the practice is still woefully behind the principle—has been accepted by the Legislature. But even economists have often failed to see that the misuse of juvenile labour which consists in setting boys and girls to occupations which offer them no chance of the training required for employment as adults, and in dismissing when they cease to be contented with a child's wages, is as reprehensible from the point of view of society as is the using up of physique and intelligence by exhausting hours or dangerous machinery. Yet the one evil is the outcome of the same industrial revolution as the other, and it might have been supposed that the State in regulating industry would have been as anxious to remedy the former as the latter. If the statesmen of the early nineteenth century had followed the traditional social policy of this country, or had listened to the plea of the working classes, they would have not only restricted the hours of child labour, but they would also have limited the number of young persons entering occupations with a view to securing them a proper training and to preventing the displacement of men by boys. The latter point was, indeed, the issue on which most of the industrial conflicts between 1760 and 1810 were joined. The Statute of Artificers of 1563, which embodied sixteenth-century conceptions of social expediency, had sought to secure an adequate training for the rising generation by insisting that all youths entering the employments existing at the time when it was passed should serve a seven years' apprenticeship and by proportioning the number of apprentices employed in certain specified industries to the journeymen in them. But within a century and a half of its

enactment it had been whittled away by judicial decisions based on the doctrine that intervention in restraint of trade was contrary to the common law ; and when at the end of the eighteenth century it was assailed by the triumphant logic of Adam Smith and by the interest of the rising manufacturing classes in securing continued supplies of cheap labour for the new machinery, it was abandoned by the Legislature without any attempt to put in its place any alternative and more workable policy. To the trade unionists of the early nineteenth century, who saw skilled crafts which they had long regarded as their property overdone with boys, who saw fathers dismissed to make way for their sons, and the sons in time dismissed when they claimed a man's wage, this abandonment by the Legislature of its traditional policy seemed almost equivalent to a complete breaking up of the social order.

"The obvious intention of our ancestors, in enacting the Statute of the 5th Eliz.," petitioned the watchmakers in 1818, "was to produce and maintain a competent succession of masters and journeymen of practical experience, to promote, secure and render permanent the prosperity of the national arts and manufactures. . . . The apprenticed artizans have collectively and individually an unquestionable right to expect the most extended protection from the legislature, in the quiet and exclusive use and enjoyment of their several arts and trades, which the Law has already conferred upon them as a property, as much as it has secured the property of the stockholder in the Public Funds. . . . The pretension of uncontrolled freedom of action to each individual founded upon the same delusive theoretical principles which fostered the French Revolution, are wholly inapplicable to the insular state of this kingdom, and if allowed to prevail will hasten destruction of the Social system, so happily arranged in the existing form and substance of the British Constitution established by Law."

At the time when this ingenious appeal to the Conservatism of the governing classes was put forth the remnants of the established system of statutory apprenticeship had already been swept away. The Statute of Artificers was repealed in 1813 and 1814, and the Government had adopted wholeheartedly the policy of *Gewerbefreiheit*, recommended by the economists. Already, it is true, some restriction on child labour of another type, and limited to a narrow class, had been imposed by the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act of 1802, the feeble and unconscious progenitor of a long series of factory Acts which extended protection to one class of children after another. Such regulations, however, were imposed solely in the interests of health, or morals, or elementary education. The idea that industries ought not to rely on cheap relays of juvenile or adolescent labour was never appreciated, and while the State has intervened more and more to protect young children against overwork, statesmen even to-day have not realised that an evil almost as serious as overwork, though less sensational, is the employment of adolescent workers in industries which give them no opportunity for acquiring the qualifications which they need if they are to obtain work as adults.

At the present day, however, we are waking up to the danger involved in the employment of adolescents without reference to their future welfare, and a flood of light has recently been thrown on the subject, both by the results of private investigation and by the Reports of Public Authorities. In particular the question has recently been discussed at great length and made the basis of a definite policy with regard to unemployment in the two Reports of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and the Relief

of Distress, and in a Report on attendance at Continuation Schools, issued in August, 1909, by the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education. Both the Poor Law Commission and the Consultative Committee took a large amount of evidence as to the conditions of employment among youths under twenty-one, and there is a striking unanimity of opinion between the three Reports. The majority state that "the results of the large employment of boys in occupations which offer no opportunity of promotion to employment as men are disastrous. The boy, thrown out at sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen or twenty years of age, drifts into the low-skilled labour market or the army of unemployables." The minority, after explaining that "they regard the perpetual recruitment of the unemployables by tens of thousands of boys, who, through neglect to provide them with suitable industrial training, may almost be said to graduate into unemployment as a matter of course, as perhaps the gravest of all grave facts which the Commission has laid bare . . ." go on to allege as their final conclusion that "the mass of unemployment is continually being recruited by a stream of young men from industries which rely upon unskilled boy labour, and turn it adrift at manhood without any general or special industrial qualification." The Consultative Committee, whose Report, though primarily an educational document, is of the greatest economic interest, draw an analogy between the danger of the child worker in the early nineteenth century and the dangers of the adolescent to-day, and sum up their own conclusions by saying (vol. i. p. 219) that "it is clear to the Committee that the lack of continued educational care through the years of adolescence is one of the

deeper causes of national unemployment." In the light of these weighty declarations it seems worth while to review briefly the economic characteristics and conditions of adolescent labour with a view to ascertaining how far the connection between it and unemployment, which they all assert to exist, can be established. The materials used in this article for such a review are derived partly from the evidence placed before the Consultative Committee and the Poor Law Commission, especially the valuable Report on boy labour made to the latter by Mr. Cyril Jackson, but mainly from an inquiry conducted in Glasgow by the writer and Mr. William Kennedy. The proper policy to pursue in the circumstances is left to the decision of persons more experienced in educational administration.

THE ENTRY INTO INDUSTRY: EXISTING CONDITIONS.

Before any opinion can be expressed as to the validity of the conclusions of the Poor Law Commission and the Consultative Committee, it is necessary to survey briefly the conditions prevailing among adolescents employed in industry. In doing so it is convenient to observe the time-honoured distinction between (1) learners or apprentices who are employed, not for their immediate commercial utility, but in order to maintain at a future date the supply of adult workmen in the industry (*e.g.*, apprentice masons, joiners, fitters, &c.); and (2) boys who are not being taught any occupations with a view to their practising it as men, but who are employed, to quote the words of an employer, "solely for their immediate commercial utility" upon some simple operation, and who, to dis-

tinguish them from boy learners, may be called boy labourers. As will be shown later, the distinction between these two classes of youths has for many years been undergoing a gradual process of obliteration, and from its obliteration flow some of the problems with which the Poor Law Commission and the Consultative Committee were concerned. Nevertheless, it is convenient to begin by making it, because it corresponds to a real difference in the attitude of employers to the boys whom they employ. Class (1) is obtaining such instruction as the industry affords, whether that instruction is good or bad. Most employers in most trades where apprenticeship exists look far enough ahead to be desirous of maintaining a supply (large or small) of trained adults, and therefore are usually at some pains to give their learners as good a training as the circumstances of the trade at any given moment afford, though they constantly fail to realise to how little that training may amount. Class (2) is normally obtaining in the workshop no training at all, good or bad, such as will qualify the boys in it for future employment when they leave their present positions to seek work elsewhere.

I. THE POSITION OF LEARNERS OR APPRENTICES.

The characteristic of the training by means of apprenticeship, which has been traditional in this country since the Middle Ages, is that the boy is at once learning and earning. He gets his education by being allowed to execute operations which have a market value. The obvious advantage of such a system from the point of view of the employer is that the boys receive a training which is practical, and that they learn the valuable lesson that a thing is no good unless

it will sell. The advantage from the point of view of the boy is that while he is earning his living he is also preparing for the future. This is the theory of the system, and it is on the supposition that this theory corresponds to the facts that the extension of apprenticeship as a preparation for a future career so frequently finds advocates at the present day. In reality, however, almost all the latest evidence drawn from the actual relations of industrial life goes to show that even in those trades where apprenticeship nominally survives there is little reason to regard it as a satisfactory method of industrial training. On the contrary, inquiry shows that several tendencies are at work to assimilate the position of the boy who is nominally an apprentice or learner to the position of the boy who is employed simply as a labourer. The most important of these tendencies may be summed up under the following heads: (*a*) The gap between the school and the trade; (*b*) the breaking up of processes; (*c*) the difficulty of control; (*d*) the instability of industry. It is not necessary to say that they vary in importance from district to district and trade to trade.

(*a*) The gap between the school and the trade. In many industries at the present day employers do not take boys as apprentices until they are fifteen or sixteen. This is not the case everywhere or in all trades, but it is the rule in certain important centres of industry. In Glasgow, for example, the industries at which apprentices are taken at fourteen are painting, plumbing, printing (compositors), and iron moulding; the period of training is in these trades seven years. Most other industries take boys for five years and apprentice them nearer to sixteen than fifteen years of age. Since most working-class

lads leave school not later than fourteen, the fact that they are not taken as apprentices till about sixteen means that a gap of two years usually intervenes before they settle down to learn a trade. During these two years they are engaged in temporary occupations which are no preparation for their future careers, which impose no responsibility or discipline upon them, and which are often of such a nature as to accustom them in youth to purely casual labour. That this is the case is clearly shown by tables of occupation entered by boys leaving school. Thus out of 250 boys leaving the Elementary School in Glasgow, 53·6 per cent. became milk-boys or lorry boys, 24·6 became unskilled labourers in one capacity or another 12 per cent. became apprentices or learners. Out of 485 boys leaving London Elementary Schools 38·7 became errand-boys, shop-boys, or van-boys, 28 per cent. entered low-skilled occupations, 11·2 per cent. entered "skilled" trades. It will be shown later that some of these occupations are harmful in themselves, apart from the fact that they give no kind of industrial education. But what it is desired to emphasise here is that it is a very serious thing that so many lads, on being released from the discipline of school, should enter occupations which are purposeless in the sense of being no preparation for future life. The existence of this gulf between the Elementary School and the beginning of any kind of industrial training, which makes it necessary for them to enter these occupations, is an obstacle at the very outset of their careers; it prevents many from ever beginning to get any adequate training at all, and diverts the less firm of purpose into low-paid, casual, or otherwise undesirable employments. In the words of an engineer,

who was formerly a teacher, "In the two years between fourteen and sixteen a boy forgets most of what he has learned at school."

(b) The breaking up of processes. The growing specialisation of processes makes it increasingly difficult for a boy who enters a workshop as an apprentice or learner to obtain a knowledge of the trade which he means to follow sufficiently general to make him a good all-round workman who can adapt himself to different classes of work and the varying needs of different firms. He tends to become unduly specialised at a very early age, with the result that if he is displaced from his particular job, he finds more difficulty in getting another than he would if he knew all sides of his trade. The motive to this further and further specialisation of all kinds of work, including that of boys who are nominally learners, is, of course, cheap production for a wide market. In the words of one employer, "To put an apprentice on a valuable machine is a waste of money unless he is specialised to it, and in all trades the longer a boy is kept at the process the sooner does he begin to be economically profitable." The result of it is seen in a diminution of the opportunities for workshop education. Thus one firm states: "Boys are kept as a rule in their own departments. They are not taught; they are made to work." Another: "Boys are specialised from the beginning; to shift a boy proficient in one department to another would not pay." Some firms make a sharp division between boys who are to get a general all-round training and boys who are to be kept to one department of the work. Thus, in a locomotive works, employing about four thousand men and capable of turning out an engine per diem, there are three

classes of apprentices : (*i.*) premium apprentices (*i.e.*, lads who wish to occupy the higher positions in industry) ; these pass through all departments—moulding, pattern-shop, and drawing-office. (*ii.*) Privilege apprentices ; these are lads who, either because they are exceptionally clever and keen, or because they are the sons of old employees, are moved from one department to another, and learn fitting and erecting, turning, boiler-mounting, and possibly enter the drawing-office. (*iii.*) The ordinary apprentices, who, of course, form the vast majority. They are apprenticed either as fitters or as turners ; for in this firm specialisation is carried so far that fitting and erecting, which are almost always combined, are here separated. On entering the works the lad who is going to be a fitter goes straight to the fitting-shop and learns nothing else ; a lad who is going to be a turner goes to the machine-shop and does not learn fitting. Moreover within the machine-shop specialisation has proceeded still farther. There are a large number of machines which are worked, not by men who have served their time and acquired a general knowledge of machinery (*i.e.*, qualified turners), but by youths who are kept to a single machine, who become capable at that particular kind of work, and who, unless exceptionally clever, do not get a general knowledge of machinery or become competent to work a lathe. These specialised machine-minders form a growing proportion of the total number of mechanics employed in engineering works, owing to the continual invention of simplified machines adapted to the particular class of work done by particular firms ; and some employers state that the “engineer” of the future will be a specialised machine-minder at 22s. to 28s.

a week, instead of the man who has served his time and who earns 36s. The machine-minder may be either an adult labourer or a boy. At present the society in the trade does not allow lathes to be worked by any but qualified engineers. But on drilling, milling, slotting, punching, band-sawing, and screwing machines it is quite common to employ these specialised machinists who have had but a few days' or even a few hours' training, and who are not competent to work any machine save that to which they are specialised. This tendency to narrow down the education of the learner to a single process and thus to lessen his opportunities of obtaining a general all-round training is not confined to engineering. The same thing has happened in the case of the boys employed in wood-working industries where much machinery is used. Thus, a timber merchant employing sawyers in one department and cabinet-makers in another states: "There is no regular training system; a boy learns incidentally and is only shifted from one machine to another when the shop needs it; there is thus a tendency for boys to become specialised on one machine." The firm gave as an instance of the length to which specialisation had proceeded the fact that one of its employees was the best producer of wooden rings in his town, but could not make a wage at turning a table-leg, and adds that "with the exception of a few old men who were trained under the apprenticeship system the foremen are the only men with all-round skill." Again, in the case of bread-baking, it is stated that "all-round men are not trained in the town shops," and that the best men come in from the country, where the training is more efficient because the division of labour has not proceeded so far.

Master masons say that "country-bred men are the best" on account of the fact that they have had a better all-round training. Finally, in plumbing, painting, and carpentering it is well known that some employers engage a large number of apprentices by whom they get work done cheaply and who are only half-trained. Thus, to give an example out of many, some years ago there was a strike of plumbers, caused (as it is stated by an employer) by the fact that certain employers doing a low class of work would send a large number of half-trained youths with only one or two journeymen to execute it, with the result that men were displaced, and that the boys had no chance of learning the trade properly.

(c) The difficulty of control. The apprenticeship system is unsatisfactory, because the control which an employer can exercise over his apprentices is, under modern conditions, so small. In Glasgow the indenture system is not found, as far as can be ascertained, in any trade except building, in which apprentice masons are bound under a signed indenture for a period of five years. Indentures are, however, of very little practical value. Even if a boy who runs away is taken before a magistrate and the magistrate orders him to return, he comes back unwillingly, and is more trouble than he is worth. Thus a large builder and contractor says: "We find the greatest difficulty in getting boys to apply themselves. They stay away frequently in the morning, and run away after two or three years to get employment in country districts. Yet there are plenty of prospects in the trade; we cannot get sufficient competent foremen, though they earn from £3 to £5." No doubt employers are always disposed to look back upon their own

youth as a time in which all boys were virtuous ; but there is abundant evidence to show that the very small control which is all that can under modern conditions be exercised over apprentices by employers has destroyed a great part of what was valuable in the old system. In the case of shipbuilding, the apprentice riveters are notorious for their bad habits. They are piece-workers ; two apprentice riveters make up a squad with a holder-on and a rivet-boy. Hence, as a shipyard manager says, " they come and go as they please. They are as bad as the men at staying off and stopping the work of the squad." This is confirmed by a writer in a monthly report of the Boilermakers' Society, to which riveters belong, who points out how demoralising to the boys is the want of discipline :—

" From their very entry into the trade most of the bad timekeepers are taught to be casual workers. Taken from the rivet fire irrespective of their character, education, or environment, they are put to the tools to do piecework, given work that is of a casual character on account of its being piecework, allowed to leave the firm whenever work is not ready—having, in fact, five years' training as casual workers. . . . Would any employer treat his own son in such a manner? "

It is interesting to note that in a letter to *Shipbuilding* Mr. Cummings, the late General Secretary of the Boilermakers' Society, has suggested that Continuation Schools should be made compulsory.

(d) The instability of industry. Even when apprenticeship gives a good training in the trade, as it exists at the present day, it is not by itself an adequate preparation for industrial life, for the reason that the methods of production in nearly all industries are liable under

modern conditions to be revolutionised by discoveries and technical improvements, such as the introduction of machinery or of different machinery to contract owing to competition, and to fluctuate under the alternation of commercial prosperity and depression. Now, apprenticeship as a system of training was developed when industry was stable, methodical, and regular, and is not suited to an age when it is unstable, changing, and irregular. A boy undertakes to serve seven or five years in order to acquire a trade. But after his skill has been laboriously acquired, it may at any moment be rendered entirely unnecessary by changes in the organisation of industry. The greater his skill in one particular class of work the less easy does he find it to take to another. What is required in addition to manual dexterity is general industrial knowledge and intelligence, which will enable him to adapt himself to changing industrial conditions. But such general adaptability is not given by apprenticeship. Hence apprenticeship, even when satisfactory in other respects, is apt to be a risky investment, and not to repay the sacrifice of time and money which it involves.

II. BOY LABOURERS.

The second class of boys in industry consists of those who are not apprentices or learners, but who are being employed solely with a view to the present utility of their labour. It is difficult to say what proportion these boys form of the total number employed in industry. Attempts have been made in the past to obtain an estimate by ascertaining the occupations which boys enter on leaving school. Thus a return of the House of Commons procured in 1899 showed that in

London "40 per cent. of the boys leaving the schools became errand-boys and van-boys, 14 per cent. shop-boys, 8 per cent office-boys and junior clerks, while some 18 per cent. entered the building, metal work, clothing, and printing trades"; and similar statistics of more or less completeness have been published for other towns. In reality, however, they are of little value for the purpose for which these figures are usually used—namely, to show that an undesirably large number of youths enter what are called (very ambiguously) "unskilled" employments. As was pointed out above, it is a very general practice for boys who want to be apprenticed to a trade to spend a few weeks or months as messenger-boys until an opening is available, and returns as to the occupations entered by boys leaving school do not, therefore, justify us in taking them as anything like a complete account of the proportions in which boys finally enter different industries, though they do, of course, illustrate the point mentioned above as to the gap existing between the Elementary School and the trade. How rarely, as a matter of fact, boys remain in the same occupation may be illustrated from the following table as to the previous occupation of 150 labourers at the time when they left school and again at the age of sixteen :—

	On leaving School.	At Sixteen.
Country workers	7	4
Seamen	4	5
Apprentices and learners	8	20
Message-boys and milk-boys	55	13
Van-boys	17	6
Van-men	—	9
Boys or labourers in factories or works	40	49
General labourers	9	30
Miscellaneous (office, workrooms, &c.)	10	14

Leaving aside the attempt to make any statistical estimate of the proportion of boys engaged as learners to those engaged as labourers, for which the materials are inadequate, we may select for special emphasis three characteristics in the employment of these adolescent "boy labourers." First, the work which they perform is usually entirely non-educational and gives no kind of industrial training, either general or special, such as to enable the worker to find a fresh situation when he leaves it. This is obviously true of the messenger, the milk-boy, and the van-boy. It is also true to an extent which is rarely realised of the boys who are employed in some kind of labouring capacity in factories and works. Among boys whom the writer has found to be engaged in almost entirely non-educational employments may be included general labourers in foundries, in sawmills, in the building trade, or at the docks; loom-boys, doffers, or shifters in textile factories; oven-boys in bakeries, rivet-boys in boiler-shops, drawers-off in sawmills, packers in soapworks, machine-minders in furniture factories, labellers in mineral-water factories; a host of others occupying similar positions are mentioned in Mr. Cyril Jackson's Report to the Poor Law Commission. From the point of view of the boys themselves these occupations are not an avenue into a future career, they are a blind alley leading nowhere. From the point of view of the employers the class of work done is a species of light, unskilled labour which does not require either the intelligence asked from a boy who is learning the trade or the strength demanded from an adult unskilled workman, and which can therefore be done by a sort of boy labourer. Thus the work of a loom-boy consists in assist-

ing men at the loom, seeing that the supply of yarn does not run short, giving in broken ends, cleaning looms, and generally waiting on the weaver. In some carpet-weaving factories no men labourers are employed, and the boys then do all the unskilled work; they do not obtain any knowledge which would enable them to do weaving, for which a formal apprenticeship is necessary, nor are they fitted for anything else. In a similar position to this large numbers of boys are employed in soapworks, packing, wrapping, and filling soap-powder packets. Again, the boys tending machines in the biscuit department of a bakery are neither apprentices nor learners, and though they may acquire a certain rough handiness in dealing with machinery, it is only of the most rudimentary kind. A large number of boys are employed in sawmills as what are known as "drawers off," whose duty it is to carry wood to and from a machine which is worked by a man, and generally act as labourers. Much the same is true of cloth-finishing works, where a great many boys are employed taking cloth to and from the drying machines, and watching machines under the supervision of a competent man. All these different instances, which could probably be multiplied indefinitely were an extensive inquiry made, are cases in which the boy's work is simply a specialised compartment which gives no kind of qualification for future employment outside it.

Secondly, not only are the boys in these occupations receiving no industrial training, either general or special, but a large number of them will be dismissed at manhood or whenever they begin to ask for an adult's wages. This is not because they are inefficient workers or for any other personal or accidental reason. It follows

regularly and inevitably from the way in which the work is distributed between boys and men. The absolute impossibility of their being absorbed as men in the occupations in which they started as boys is shown clearly by the following figures of the number of boys and men employed in certain businesses.

(1) A weaving factory—men 120, apprentices 6, loom-boys 120. (2) Soapworks—men 98, boys 114. (3) Bakery: breadmaking—men 96, boys 8; pastry—men 60, boys 7; biscuits—men 12, boys 41. (4) Contractor: lorries—men 148, boys 50; tracing—boys 9; vans—boys 10. (5) Sawmills: machine-shop—men 78, boys 64; turning—men 30, boys 4; chair-shop—men 38, boys 14. (6) Finishing company: store-mills—men 40, boys 40; drying—men 28, boys 26; raising—men 10, boys 18; pressing—men 96, boys 10; odd hands—men 18, boys 2.

It will be seen that in the first two cases the number of boys actually exceeds the number of men employed. A workman employed in the weaving factory estimates that 5 per cent. of the boys employed stay with the firm as men, and that of those who leave 75 per cent. do so because it is impossible to find work for them at men's wages. He insists on the irreparable damage that is done to the boys' future, and says he would dissuade any boy he knew from undertaking the work. That is in no way the fault of the employer concerned; on the contrary, he is well known to go to trouble and expense to increase the comfort of his employees. It is simply because the work is of a character which can be done by boys, and therefore boys, being cheaper than adult labourers, are employed to do it. This par-

ticular class of boys, loom-boys, doffers, or shifters, is to be found in large numbers in Dundee ; it may therefore not be inappropriate to quote the remarks on this subject contained in the Report of the Dundee Social Union, which confirms strikingly the opinion here expressed as to the effect upon employment of the type of unprogressive boy labour :—

“ The demand for men’s labour would have to be three times as great to provide work for all these lads [*i.e.*, who are in the jute industry], and a number whose parents have sent them to mill or factory as children are turned adrift at the age of seventeen or eighteen. A few of them become skilled workmen in other trades. But even if a boy is not too old to become an apprentice to some trade, he may earn half or less than half his accustomed wage. Some boys become labourers in other trades, others enter the Army . . . a number leave the town to seek work elsewhere, while others live from hand to mouth as casual labourers¹ or join the ranks of the permanently unemployed.”

The evil is, of course, aggravated in Dundee by the fact that most of the adult workers are women, with the result that there are fewer places for adult men. But the cases quoted above are sufficient to show that it exists in very many different kinds of business. Take, for example, the case of the soapworks (2). In

¹ For a similar account of the fate of boys formerly employed in “laying on” and “taking off” paper in London printing-houses, see *Toynbee Record*, “Report on Boy Labour.” These printers’ boys were stated to enter the army and take to the docks ; a large number of printers’ labourers were found in the Whitechapel casual ward in the course of an investigation made into the previous employment of the men there. See also figures as to boy messengers quoted by Mr. Cyril Jackson, “Report on Boy Labour,” in the passage referring to the Consultative Committee.

these the boys actually exceed the men, and they work in different departments ; there is no movement from one to the other, because a strong, full-grown man is needed to do the man's work. None of the boys, the manager states, stays beyond twenty. In the case of the sawmills (5) and the cloth finishing company (6) the boys do not actually exceed the men in number. But it is plain that even were there absolutely complete mobility between all the departments a large number of the boys employed would have to leave the trade at manhood. As a matter of fact, 80 per cent. are estimated to leave at manhood in the one case and 95 per cent. in the other.

Finally, one may quote the remarks of the recent Committee on Partial Exemption in reference to certain branches of the woollen trade :—

“ Between fifteen and eighteen the greater part of the boys leave the trade, having acquired some preliminary knowledge of a trade which cannot find them employment in a district which is peculiarly deficient in well-paid male occupations. . . . We are informed that it has been ascertained that over 40 per cent. of the boys who had been half-timers, and subsequently remained in the mills as full-timers, drift into the unskilled labour market.”

A general application may be given to the examples quoted above, if one considers for a moment what are the causes determining the demand for boys in different occupations, and in particular how the demand for boy learners differs from that for boy labourers. The considerations which determine the number of boys taken on by, say,¹ the fitting department of an

¹ An excellent example of the different prospects of the boy “ learner ” and the boy “ labourer ” is

engineering firm, or by the bread-baking department of the bakery described above (3), are fundamentally different from those which settle the number of loom-boys, rivet-boys, or boys in the biscuit department of the same bakery. In industries requiring much dexterity or intelligence the number of boys entering the trade is determined, not by the demand for such work as they could do if they were immediately set to a single specialised operation, but by the estimated future demand for journeymen. Even where no formal agreement exists as to the proper proportion of apprentices to journeymen, as it does in the case of bread-baking, this is the criterion to which both employers and workmen habitually refer when the former are claiming that the number of apprentices shall be increased and the latter that it shall be diminished.

Real learners are always an expense, and as long as boys are taken on with a view to teaching them so that they may recruit the trade there is no temptation for employers to take on more than are required for this purpose. Hence, a boy who enters, for example, a machine-making or bread-baking establishment will, if he is moderately intelligent and fortunate, find a place in it at a man's wage. If he leaves, he leaves because the trade does not suit him personally, not because it is unable to absorb all those who

given by comparing the bread-baking and biscuit departments of the bakery mentioned above. Eight apprentices (five years' apprenticeship) are held, with the approval of the employer, to be sufficient to recruit ninety-six journeymen bread-bakers, yet in biscuit-making forty-one boys and twelve journeymen are employed. Some of these boys recruit the eight apprentices ; of the remainder, it is said, "some go to other trades, the rest drift into casual employment."

enter it as boys. But when there is no need to recruit a supply of thoroughly trained journeymen, or where many departments of the work are such as can be done by the relatively cheap boy instead of the relatively expensive man, there is always a force at work tending to increase the employment of boys without any reference to the openings in the industry which there will be for them when they reach manhood. To put it concretely, the number of lorry-boys or loom-boys in a town bears no relation to the number required for recruiting lorry-men or weavers, or to anything more remote than the number of cart-tails and looms now in existence and the number of boys who can be induced to sit on the one and serve the other. In the words of an employer, "boys are employed for their present commercial utility." That "utility," which is to be found in the fact that the wage of an adult labourer in Glasgow is 16s. to 20s., while that of a boy (*e.g.*, loom-boy) is 8s. to 12s., ceases at manhood, and with its cessation employment ceases as well. But, as has already been pointed out, he has learned nothing which will qualify him to do any other kind of work. What, then, can he do? He can do nothing but fall back on the possession of two arms and two legs, and either enter the Army (*vide* the Report of the Dundee Social Union) or increase the supply of labourers, which is already excessive, and which, because excessive, is casually employed. When 20,000 builders' labourers are in the market and only 10,000 are wanted, it is certain that either 10,000 will be unemployed altogether or (what actually happens) that the whole 20,000 will be employed with varying degrees of irregularity.

A third point which is worth noticing is the

extreme mobility among these boys to whom we have given the name of boy labourers. This is a point on which it is difficult to get evidence. But such as there is seems to establish the following tendencies. The mobility of the boy labourer is, as would be expected, considerably greater than that of the learner, whether formally apprenticed or not. Between the period of leaving school and the age of sixteen it is customary for both those boys who intend to become learners and those who do not to move from one place to another with great freedom. After the age of sixteen it is rare for the apprentice to move, while the boy who is not a learner is continually shifting from place to place with extraordinary rapidity. This fact was brought out very clearly by comparing the information obtained from 100 tradesmen in Glasgow as to their career between sixteen and twenty-one with that obtained from 150 labourers. After sixteen the narrative of the former comes to an abrupt end, because they have begun to serve their time. After sixteen the boy labourer shifts from place to place, and continues shifting until he is twenty-one. The forms returned show that it is rare for a boy to pass through less than six places between fourteen and twenty-one, common for him to pass through twelve, while in some classes he passes through twenty or thirty. In one instance a young man of twenty-four was able to give the names and addresses of fifty employers with whom he had worked since leaving school. Moreover, the mobility of the boy labourers tends to be different in object and character from that of the boy who is learning a trade. The latter sometimes moves in order to go to a shop where a different branch of the trade is carried on, with the intention of widen-

ing his experience, though in practice he usually defers doing this till he is an "improver." He may move within the trade, but he rarely moves outside it. In the case of the latter the information given by them shows the main incentive to dismissal (apart from dismissal by the employer) is immediately higher wages, and, further, that the occupations through which they pass have frequently no connection with each other. A single instance from about 150 will illustrate what is meant:—

"M.A., a biscuit-cutter and son of a plumber, twenty-three years old, left school at fourteen. He gave the following particulars of his employments: (a) messenger-boy, 5s. two months—left to go to biscuit factory; (b) cleaning biscuit-pans, 5s. 6d. four months—left to go to G.D.'s for more money; (c) oven-boy, 11s. seven months—left to go to L.'s for more money; (d) oven-boy, 12s. eighteen months—left for more money; (e) assistant baker's-man in bakery, one year 15s.—left for more money; (f) baker's-man, 16s. for four months. After that returned to L.'s; then became a mason's labourer; then worked in quarries for four weeks; then became a crane driver; then went back to L.'s."

The boy labourer tends, in short, to be an industrial nomad. It is not necessary to dwell upon the effect which this is likely to have upon his character.

BOY LABOUR AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

It remains to be asked how far the majority or the minority of the Poor Law Commissioners are right in ascribing part of the problem of unemployment among adult men to the conditions of boy labour. In considering this question, one suggestion may at once be ruled out of account.

It is that over the whole field of industry men are being replaced by boys. For this statement, which is sometimes made by workpeople who have seen their own trade overrun by cheap juvenile labour, there is no foundation in fact. It is quite true that in certain occupations the proportion of boys to men has increased between 1891 and 1901. But, on the other hand, the census returns for 1901 show a decrease of 12·9 on the number of boys under fifteen employed in 1891, and, on the other hand, the estimate of the Consultative Committee, based on the census returns, gives the proportion of employees between twelve and seventeen to the total number of persons employed as 12·70 in 1891 and 11·06 in 1901. It is, therefore, not correct to speak as though there were a general displacement of the labour of adults by the labour of adolescents. On the contrary, Mr. Cyril Jackson is no doubt right in anticipating (p. 4 of his Report to the Royal Commission) that the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903, by stimulating secondary education, will be found to result in a still further diminution. Leaving this suggestion aside, therefore, we may distinguish in the methods of entering a trade and of adolescent employment, described above, certain tendencies which make for adult unemployment. The first and least important is the excessive specialisation which is described above as being found among certain classes of boys, both learners and labourers. In the case of an apprentice in an engine-works, for example, it may very well happen that though there is an opening for him as a man in that particular works, yet he is through one cause or another displaced; he will have the greater difficulty in regaining any position because he has

been specialised to one minute process for the sake of cheap production. This is amply borne out by the evidence of employers and workpeople. Thus the manager of a machine-tool works states: "Few men can now do more than make one special part of the particular class of tool we make. This has caused the work to be produced quicker and cheaper, but it tends to make the workers in a sense unskilled and very dependent on the fluctuation of that kind of work." A district secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers says of a world-famous firm which employs several thousand men making a particular kind of domestic machine: "It is a reception home for young bakers and grocers. Boys go to it from other occupations and are put in the machine-shop to do one small part of the machine. . . . When they leave they are not competent engineers and find it difficult to get work elsewhere." Finally, an official of the Brass Moulders' Union describes the process in greater detail:—

"In some shops the work is highly specialised, and the boy is kept at a single process; for example, he may learn only to make flanges. The result is that when he comes into a shop where a different class of work is done he does not know how to set about it, and so cannot get work or keep it if he gets it. These untrained workers recruit the unemployed, I know a young man who has, for this reason, been through seven jobs in six weeks."

In short, the over-specialised learner resembles the aged worker in standing on a narrow ledge, from which he is very easily dislodged. If industry were stable and regular, this fact would be of little consequence. Since it is in reality unstable and changing, the lack of capacity for

self-adjustment to changing conditions may result in an individual being temporarily or permanently superseded. Much has recently been written, though not too much, about the importance of increasing the mobility of labour by means of Labour Exchanges. It is not always remembered that two kinds of mobility are needed, place-mobility and what may be called trade or process-mobility. It is as important that the displaced worker should be able to turn rapidly to a new process as it is that he should be able to move rapidly to a fresh centre of industry. As it is, he too often sells his wares in an artificially narrowed market.

The second and more important line along which a connection may be established between unemployment and the occupations followed by adolescents may be seen by looking at the conditions described above as prevailing among boy labourers. It was pointed out that in certain industries more boys are employed in non-educational occupations than can be employed as men, with the result that many of them are dismissed on asking for an adult's wage. Is it possible to say whether such boys, on being dismissed, tend to become specially exposed to unemployment or casual employment? Directly, it is impossible to prove this ; it could only be done by means of immensely more numerous and exhaustive biographies of unemployed men than we at present possess. There is, however, a good deal of more or less indirect evidence to show that this is the case. First, we may mention the fact that certain groups of non-educational employments seem to be connected with juvenile crime. Thus the census of 1901 gives the previous occupations of the inmates of local and convict prisons who are under twenty. From

this table, which is quoted by Mr. Cyril Jackson on p. 43 of his Report, it appears that the occupations the largest percentage of whose members are in prison are the following: general labourers, 0·74 in prison; street sellers, 0·57; dockers, 0·44; tailors, 0·16; carmen, 0·14; bakers, 0·14. If we except tailoring, all these, including baking, are trades in which low-skilled, non-educational labour predominates. The trades which contribute the smallest percentage are carpenters, engineers, miners, builders, and printers. Side by side with these figures may be set some obtained by the writer from the Chief Constable of Glasgow, which shows that in the year 1906, 87 per cent. of 1,454 youths between fourteen and twenty-one charged with offences inferring dishonesty were drawn from non-educational occupations, viz., messengers, street trades, labourers, van-boys, or rivet-heaters. The facts as to the effect of street trading have been set forth by the police authorities of some large towns, and are too well known to need description.

Secondly, there is a certain amount of evidence to show that the younger among the applicants for relief are drawn preponderantly from occupations employing adolescents in non-educational positions from which they are dismissed at manhood. It is not usually realised how large a proportion of those who apply to distress committees are comparatively young. It is, of course, quite true that the number of applicants per thousand living at the same age is highest between the ages of forty-five and sixty—in other words, that liability to unemployment increases with age. On the other hand, it is also true that the number of applicants for relief under the age of thirty is so large as to suggest that

there are peculiar difficulties in the passage from juvenile to adult employment. Mr. Roland Williams, the able Superintendent of the Divisional Office in charge of the London Exchange in the north-west of England, has kindly supplied me with the following particulars as to the occupation entered after the age of fourteen by 1,302 men who subsequently became casual labourers and applied for relief in Liverpool:—

	Number at 14 to 17.	Per- centages
Apprenticed to a trade	69 ...	5'3
Errand messengers and shop- boys	369 ...	28'34
Farm, garden, stable and van boys	128 ...	9'84
Yard, works, and factory boys not learning a trade	547 ...	42'00
Home servants (male)	2 ...	0'15
Industrial schoolboys	3 ...	0'23
Sailors	71 ...	5'45
Soldiers	13 ...	0'99
School teachers	2 ...	0'15
Street musicians	2 ...	0'15
University student.....	1 ...	0'07
Street traders	61 ...	4'7
Schoolboys	3 ...	0'23
Occupation not stated	31 ...	2'4
Total	1,302 ...	100'00

A table in Mr. Cyril Jackson's Report (p. 45), based on returns from London Distress Committees, shows the occupations in which 484 boys and men in distress were at the age of nineteen: 13'5 were apprentices or in skilled trades; general, casual, and unskilled labour accounted for 46'2; 14'5 were carmen, 8'7 errand-boys, and 14'6 unemployed. Further, in the careers of the boys between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two we find a striking increase between

those ages in the proportion of those unemployed to those in work. Thus, at the age of seventeen between 2 and 3 per cent. of the persons examined were out of work; at the age of eighteen, 10 per cent; at nineteen, 14 per cent.; at twenty, 21 per cent.; at twenty-one, 26 per cent. The figures for the skilled trades are, unfortunately, not given separately, nor are the records continued beyond twenty-two. What they show is that the proportion of unemployed to those in work rose sharply at the age when boys begin to ask for a man's wages. They are not large enough, of course, to do more than suggest the hypothesis of a connection between unemployment among young men and the displacement of adolescent labour. This suggestion is, however, strikingly confirmed by certain of the Reports submitted by Distress Committees to the Poor Law Commissioners—for example, that of Glasgow, where, according to the majority of the Commissioners, "nearly 20 per cent. of all the labourers unemployed are under twenty-five and one-half of them are under thirty-five."

Thirdly, that boys who have spent the years of adolescence in certain occupations find it specially hard to get a living at manhood is suggested by the figures as to the previous occupations of recruits entering the Army. According to Mr. Hodgson (quoted by Mr. Cyril Jackson on p. 165 of his Report): "The Army recruit is nearer akin to those lads who have come within the range of the Distress Committees than to those who have been more successful in life." The figures he gives show that of London boys who entered the Army at the age of seventeen years 47·6 per cent. were classified as "unskilled," 28·2 per cent. under

"shop and errands," 13·5 per cent. under "carters and van-boys." The classification is, unfortunately, very rough. But the main fact—that at the age of seventeen or eighteen the boys from certain non-educational occupations find a great difficulty in getting a livelihood—seems again to be established.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

If the above analysis of the conditions prevailing among adolescent workers and of their relation to the problem of unemployment be correct, it would appear to be the case (1) that among large sections of boys the character of the work done is such as to make it difficult for them to find employment when displaced at manhood, and in some cases such as actually to demoralise them; (2) that as a matter of fact the influence of these tendencies is visible in the records of juvenile crime and unemployment. To these facts we may add another: (3) that these conditions do not tend to correct themselves. While it is true that the proportion of boys to men over the whole field of industry is decreasing, it seems also to be true that in certain occupations it is increasing. Owing to the fact that the persons employed between fifteen and twenty years of age are not given in the Census Report separately for each year an adequate test of this is impossible. Among those occupations, however, in which the proportion of boys under fifteen to men increased between 1891 and 1901 were certain occupations which have been shown to exercise a prejudicial influence on the boy's future—for example, that of messengers, that of carmen, that of costermongers and street sellers, that of boys employed in soapworks. Moreover, the in-

creasing subdivision of labour and the progress of invention in certain industries are multiplying the number of posts which can be held by boys working automatic or semi-automatic machines. Thus we find also an increase in the proportion of boys under fifteen to all employed in the trade among tool-makers and erecters, fitters and turners—in fact, in that very engineering trade which was once supposed to be a stronghold of the apprenticeship system.

The inferences to be drawn from these tendencies seem sufficiently serious to warrant the statement of the minority of the Poor Law Commissioners above quoted. While it is impossible to say what proportions of all adolescent workers are at any one moment engaged in non-educational occupations from which they will be dismissed at manhood, it is certain that the number is large. Yet a moment's reflection is sufficient to show that the relative eligibility of different occupations must be estimated with reference to very different considerations in the case of a boy and in the case of an adult man. In the case of the adult the crucial question for the individual is normally the obtaining of the best remuneration in the immediate present, for society the obtaining of the best service for the least real cost. In the case of the adolescent different standards have to be applied. On the one hand, the years between fourteen and twenty-one must not only pay for the maintenance of the boy during those years, but must prepare for maintaining him in independence in manhood; and if it were possible to imagine some monstrous economic boy weighing with due deliberation the alternatives open to him on emerging from the seventh standard, he would undoubtedly reflect that to consider only the immediate relative advan-

tages of different trades in respect of hours and wages would be as improvident as it would be for a man who had heavy liabilities to meet ten years hence to lay aside nothing against them. On the other hand, the adolescent worker is, from the point of view of society, not only the supplier of present wants but the sole means of supplying future and possibly more urgent wants ; not (like a man) a finished article, but the raw material for other articles. The community which would get the maximum economic satisfaction out of its human material has to take a dynamic and not a static view of adolescent labour. It has to ascertain the point where the future satisfaction to be derived from the development of "productive powers" and the present sacrifice involved in developing them instead of satisfying certain immediate wants balance each other, in just the same way as the community which would get the maximum satisfaction from the annual production of wealth has to balance the future satisfaction made possible by saving against the present sacrifice involved in postponing immediate consumption. It is in theory quite as possible for a miscalculation to be made in the one case as in the other. It is quite possible for a town or a country by using its boys to satisfy a passion for evening papers and cheap cartage, to court a shortage of (say) steelworkers or bricklayers or good citizens in the future. It is impossible for a nation or a city, by employing boys solely with reference to their "immediate commercial utility," to live on its human capital. There is only too much reason to fear that in certain cities—for example, London and Glasgow—that process has already begun. In Glasgow employers in the building, bread-baking, and tailoring trades state that they prefer

the rural immigrant on the ground that he has got a better all-round training. In London, say the majority of the Poor Law Commissioners, quoting Mr. Webb :—

“ the investigations of Dr. Wilson Fox showed that various large employers of labour, such as breweries, railway companies, &c., employ predominantly country-born workmen in the proportion of 40, 50, and sometimes even 5 per cent. of the whole. . . . The applicants to London Distress Committees, the inmates of the Salvation Army and Church Army Shelters, and the inhabitants of some large common lodging-houses are to the extent of 86 to 93 per cent. London-born.”

It is reasonable to say that a city which allows its own youth, for want of training, to drift into overstocked, and therefore casual, employments, while recruiting its best workers from outside, resembles a company which is continually borrowing fresh capital, while wasting that which it already possesses.

III

BOY LABOUR : SOME STUDIES IN DETAIL

BY SPENCER J. GIBB

I

MORE than two hundred thousand boys pass year by year from the Elementary Schools of England and Wales. In town and country alike, they are at once absorbed by the infinitely varied and apparently insatiable demands of the boy-labour market. They are busy in almost every industry of the country ; and they overflow from these into kinds of work which are done by boys alone. In factories and workshops, in handicrafts and commerce, they fill their subsidiary place, and do a work, sometimes clearly defined and progressive, often vaguely marked, varying with the needs of the moment and the occasion, making themselves, in a favourite phrase of the advertisements which ask for them, "generally useful." At the outworks of business—in the streets, in places of public resort, in railway stations—they ply numberless boy trades, more or less fugitive, isolated from settled industries, yet ministering to them, the servants less of their immediate employers than of the wide public, who find convenience in their work without recognising responsibility for its inherent evils. As mes-

sengers, errand-boys, pages, newsvendors ; as golf-caddies and billiard-markers ; as lift-boys and telephone boys—standing ready to serve wherever their service may be convenient—they cross our path continually, and hardly a day passes in which we do not all become, in one way or another, their temporary employers.

This interlacing system of boy labour, taking its rise in the sound system of apprenticeship, and losing in innumerable cases all relationship to it ; pushing like a flooded stream into tortuous channels, newly carved ; sensitively responding to momentous industrial changes ; adapting itself the more readily because of its lack of definition to varying local conditions, has stolen upon us with a stealthy rapidity within recent years, and we now begin to awake to its social and economic significance. The economic danger reaches its crucial point in the future. Much of the work upon which boys engage, being wholly unrelated to the work of manhood, and furnishing no manner of industrial training, leaves them unequipped and unprovided at an age when they are too old to retrieve their first step by entrance upon skilled industry. And further the changing industrial conditions of the time make the training of a boy, even in apparently progressive occupations, uncertain, and introduce into them kinds of work which are isolated from any form of skilled labour. We look to the future, and find that, by our heedless use of the work of boys, we are becoming active recruiting sergeants for the army of the unfit. When we trace unemployment and unemployability to its source in individual cases we find that it began in a large number of instances in the irretrievable mistake of the first step into discontinuous boy work. The Majority and Minority Reports of the Royal

Commission on the Poor Laws agree alike in the gravity and extent of the evil ; and the thorough and judicial Report of the Consultative Committee on Attendance at Continuation Schools emphasises it from the point of view of their inquiry.

This is the crux of the problem of boy life to be considered in the present section.

The character of the boy himself, as a worker, both in his qualifications and his limitations, ministers to the more dangerous factors of the work in which he is used. Resilient strength and spirits, taking with a "frolic welcome" the adventures of the day ; restless love of movement for movement's sake ; the quest for newness in the newly opening world, which in boys of another class find vent in the vivid life of school, find their outlet for the working boy in the bustling tasks of his daily round. In the strength of these qualities he is often able with seeming ease to expend an amount of energy in his work which would weary most men. The result is that in many kinds of boy-work the strain which is put upon the strength of the workers is far in excess of what they ought to bear. Boys will walk for miles in all weathers, will drag through the streets heavily laden carts, or bear on their shoulders overweighted baskets, for hours at a stretch, often without complaint, rejoicing only if they feel their muscles grow, forgetful, as we are forgetful, of the overdraft they are taking on their capital of strength.

It is this readiness and vim which make the boy so useful an assistant in the work of the world that we question how we could do without him ; and the fact that such qualities serve so well the kinds of work which are most fugitive, and

which carry the gravest menace of future unemployability, has led to the multiplication, beyond need, of various boyish trades.

The boy's natural limitations, too, minister to the same evil. His life at the early age of school exemption has not fallen into perspective in the eyes of his parents, still less in his own. He has not learned, and can hardly be expected to have learned, to look beyond. One kind of work is as good as another; or even the fact that the work upon which he launches has in it the element of change, and lacks the discipline of continuance, may appeal the more readily to the love of variety natural to his age. As a messenger or errand-boy he feels less constraint than in apprenticeship, there is a wider scope for his curiosity to exercise itself on the moving scene of the streets; and, not having committed himself to a settled career, he retains at least the semblance of the freedom which he loves.

The parents of working boys have been taken unawares by the rapid and varied growth of boy work. With memory of an earlier day, when the entrance upon work meant always apprenticeship and the first step towards equipment and competence, they are slow to realise that the future cannot always be depended upon to arise from the present of their boys. They have taken training and prospect for granted, and in this delusive hope have readily availed themselves of the increased demand for boy work, and of the tempting wages which many discontinuous forms of work afford. Through such ignorance, oftener than through neglect, it comes about that it is by no means only the boys of the poorest parents who find their way into the "blind alleys" of unprogressive employment, but boys also whose parents belong to the comfortable class of skilled

workers. Indeed, it is just this class who, through their own experience of early training, have fallen the readiest victims to the hope that boy work, under whatever conditions pursued, will similarly lead to the settled work of manhood.

Our system of elementary education, again, has been taken unawares by developments of early employment which neutralise its benefits. Its concern has been solely with the boy while he is under obligation to attend school, and its aim to give him a foundation of unspecialised teaching upon which, in the natural course, industrial training would be built in the apprenticeship stage which should follow. The school has accordingly done with the boy when the boy has done with school. The result, under present conditions of boy labour, often is that the boy, leaving school at the earliest moment of exemption, untrained and without guidance, and drifting into some casual and temporary work, remains with the slender foundation of education laid in the school crumbling through neglect, and with no structure of further training raised upon it. School and work are unrelated.

The school has been further crippled, even in its restricted work, by the invasion into the time of school age of the evils of child labour. The half-time system, designed for the beginning of work in mills, which might (though feebly) be defended as a measure of industrial equipment, has been used to cover also the premature entry into various kinds of fugitive employment.¹

Children, again, while still nominally in full school attendance, are employed out of school hours for so long and in such a manner as

¹ Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption, pp. 3, 17.

to render them unfit for schooling—adding the burden of work to the burden of education. And both these systems have stimulated the demand for casual boy work, and the supply of it, when the exemption age is reached. They have impaired the education of the boy, and therefore his industrial fitness, and they have suggested the following, after leaving school, of the casual work—or work of a similar kind—which has been done during the period of school attendance.

The legislation also which controls juvenile work has been overtaken by the rapid development of boy labour. While the employment of boys in factories, workshops, and mines is restricted and controlled by legislation as to hours, meal-times, and general conditions, the sporadic mass of miscellaneous boy work is for the most part unregulated by law, save, inadequately, in the case of those who are young enough to stand within the operation of the general clauses of the Employment of Children Act, or of such bylaws as individual Local Authorities may frame under it ; or, insufficiently, in the case of those whose occupation brings them within the scope of the Shop Hours Acts. The thousands of boys employed as messengers, office-boys, and in the infinitely varied jobs which have been created, and in which some of the acutest dangers of boy work are to be found, are unrestricted and undirected in their work by law.

In looking, therefore, upon the picture of boy labour presented by our time, we seem to be watching a scene of busy confusion, the elements of which, while combined, appear to be but slenderly related. We recognise at once the more prominent regular industries, each with its boy workers, more or less conspiring to an

ordered end. But, without, we see busy multitudes of boys, of all ages, drawn from different social strata, engaged upon a thousand and one little employments, who seem to be tending to nothing beyond the convenience of the day. Our first need is some attempt at classification; and the classification which the conditions of the case make most adequate is one based upon the *future* of the work. From this point of view we shall find that boy work may be classified (though with some overlapping) in the following three groups:—

I. Discontinuous, or “blind-alley,” boy work.

II. Boy work of doubtful prospect.

III. Probationary boy work.

We proceed to consider in what way the distinctive problems of boy work emerge in each of these classes of employment.

II

I. DISCONTINUOUS, OR “BLIND-ALLEY,” BOY WORK.

Under this heading is included work done by boys which is without any progressive relationship to the work of manhood. It offers no training, and leads to no career. In cases in which it does seem to offer some sort of prospect, that prospect is accidental and undependable; it rests upon the chance that the boy in the course of his work may be brought into contact with possible prospective employers. It lacks any organic connection with settled adult industry, and this industrial isolation is its one constant factor amid its infinite variety of form and condition. It is work of this kind which

has so enormously increased within recent years, and in which the industrial disablement which is the crux of the problem centres. Its peculiar evils have infected, in a manner which will be considered presently, more regular kinds of work.

Discontinuous boy work draws recruits from every class. While the poorest boys fall the readiest victims to its lower forms, boys from the homes of skilled labour are induced to enter it by the high wages and sometimes by the seemingly fair conditions which it offers.

Though its condition and its moral influence differ widely, its industrial and economic results are equally bad. It leaves the boy untrained and unprovided at the age of sixteen or seventeen ; and, since he is then too old to make a successful start in probationary work, it reduces him to the condition of a chronic industrial cripple.

The most typical form of this work, in its higher grades, as well as the largest in the numbers employed, is the work of messengers, with their many varieties. Its most typical form in the lower grades is the occupation of street traders. Between these two social extremes lie enormous and increasing numbers of boy trades of a similar kind.

MESSENGERS.

The State is by far the largest employer of boy messengers. Some fifteen thousand boys are employed by the Post Office in the United Kingdom as telegraph messengers. They begin their telegraph service between the ages of thirteen and fifteen, and it extends normally to the age of sixteen. They are drawn largely from the homes of skilled labour, and the average telegraph messenger is a good specimen of the

working boy of the better class. At the Metropolitan offices candidates under fourteen are required to have passed Standard VII. before leaving school, and candidates over fourteen to have passed Standard V. It may therefore be assumed that the youngest boys joining the service have been promising scholars in the Elementary Schools. The wages, in the London offices, beginning at seven shillings a week, rise by annual weekly increments of one shilling to eleven shillings a week. At the provincial offices the wages are slightly lower. At many of the larger offices the messengers, instead of receiving a fixed weekly wage, are paid on what is known as the "Docket" system, according to the number of messages they deliver. On this system they sometimes succeed in earning as much as ten or twelve shillings a week. Their average hours of duty are nine a day. There is much in the conditions of the work to commend it. The regular exercise of walking is probably generally beneficial, and at all the larger centres the boys are well and systematically drilled. They are well looked after in the matter of clothing, and though during their term of duty their mealtimes are irregular, there are facilities in the messengers' kitchen in all the considerable offices for the cooking of their food. Institutes have been established in many places to minister to their recreation and sometimes to give them educational facilities, and the comradeship in the messengers' kitchen, with boys of their own age, engaged in a common work, gives them an *esprit de corps* beyond other boy-workers. But there is a darker side to the picture even of their working conditions. On the one hand, there are times in the busier offices when the strain of their work, with its almost ceaseless

walking and constant stair-climbing, is excessive; and, on the other hand, times, at least in the smaller offices, when long periods of idleness, awaiting messages, give occasion, not only for the mischief that is found for idle hands, but, more seriously, for the enervation of idle minds.

By an arrangement entered into with the Government, half the vacancies for postmen are filled by ex-Army and ex-Navy men. This partially closes the natural avenue by which telegraph messengers should pass to adult employment. There are not sufficient available openings in other parts of the postal service into which the messengers can be drafted, and though there are certain positions reserved for competition among post-office employees for which messengers are eligible, the examination requirements seem to be of a higher standard than most of them can attempt. Even those whose natural abilities might fit them to try for these posts are hindered, by the hours of their work, from preparing effectually. While their times of duty vary from week to week, ending sometimes as early as three and sometimes as late as nine, and at any of the intermediate hours, it is obviously impossible for the boys to attend continuation classes with regularity.

The result of these unhappy limitations of prospect is that large numbers of telegraph messengers are discharged from the service year by year at the age of sixteen and a half or later, without a vestige of industrial training or experience. Notwithstanding the fact that it is made sufficiently clear to candidates that their messenger work will reach its age limit at sixteen, and that there is no guarantee that their services will be retained in other capacities, the boys often linger on in the hope of permanent employment

until they are individually given notice to leave. And this is not surprising. It is difficult to understand the principle, if principle there be, on which a selection is made of the messengers to be retained. Boys who have borne a stainless record are among those who are dismissed, and it is natural that boys of this kind should continue to the last to hope that they will be retained. As the age-limit approaches, and with it anxiety about the future, the boys begin to realise the slender equipment for other work which their messenger experience has brought them, and hesitate to jeopardise their chances of retention by applying for another situation.

The position of the lads who find themselves workless and without training between sixteen and seventeen, or even later, is not only precarious, but in some cases industrially hopeless. The Report on Boy Labour presented to the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws by Mr. Cyril Jackson furnishes overwhelming evidence of their future industrial disablement.¹

The Post Office authorities have made certain more or less successful attempts to meet the evils which are inseparable from the present system. At many of the larger centres employment bureaux have been opened for the benefit of messengers leaving the service, and these have no doubt done something to minimise the evil. But so far as evidence is available it does not appear that much of the work to which the boys are introduced by the official bureaux is itself of a progressive character. In many cases, indeed, it can hardly be so. No official recommendation can overcome the difficulty created by the fact that the messengers are seeking permanent em-

¹ "Report on Boy Labour," Appendix I., pp. 122 ff.

ployment two years, or sometimes more, after the age at which boys at present normally enter skilled employments. The present Postmaster-General (Mr. Herbert Samuel) has appointed a Committee to inquire into the whole position of the messengers. In its first Report,¹ the Committee, frankly admitting the evil, foreshadows some reforms to meet it partially. The number of messengers is to be reduced to about 14,000. The number of openings available for them in the Post Office is to be increased. But when all is done, it appears that some three to four thousand boys must still be annually discharged at, or near, the age of sixteen.

MESSENGERS EMPLOYED BY PRIVATE CABLE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANIES.

In London very largely, and in Manchester and Liverpool to a smaller extent, boy messengers are employed by the various telegraph and cable companies under private control. The wages offered in London by these companies are exceptionally high. The average hours of work are nine a day, with a certain amount of night work. The conditions of work appear to be good, though at times of pressure the boys are in some cases kept on duty for an excessive number of hours. Boys have been known to work for seventeen hours at a stretch. The age-limit is seventeen, and there appears to be practically no direct prospect offered to the boys. In London they often remain to the limit of their service, but in the other cities it is rare to see big boys engaged in this work, or to find them continuing in it for any length of time. One of the companies in London has tried the

¹ First Report of Standing Committee on Boy Labour in the Post Office. 1911. Cd. 5504.

experiment of employing a limited number of girl messengers, for day duty only.

THE LONDON DISTRICT MESSENGER COMPANY.

A number of boys varying from seven hundred to nine hundred, according to the time of year, are employed by the District Messenger and Theatre Ticket Company in London. They are the familiar "general-utility" boys who busy themselves in manifold service of the public, and are to be seen everywhere in the London streets. Hardly anything seems to come amiss to them. They can be employed to take messages, mind offices, keep one's position in a theatre queue, and recently an illustrated paper had a picture of one of them engaged, with apparent success, in nursing and amusing a baby. Their daily hours of duty are ten, and their wages, commencing at five shillings a week, rise by half-yearly increments of one shilling a week, until the maximum of ten shillings is reached. The boys range in age from fourteen to seventeen.

Mr. Arthur Lord, the Company's secretary and general manager, writes regarding prospects:—

"A good many messengers join us simply because they get to know from other boys that there is a very good chance of their finding satisfactory and permanent employment after a period with us. . . . We have never yet discharged a boy on account of age. Our difficulty is always to keep them, having regard to the many inducements offered to them in the way of permanent employment, and in many cases at a good rate of pay. It is quite clear that the discipline and experience which the boys get with us are now appreciated by a very large section of the public, and we have many applications made to us for boys from very good people, and the sons of well-to-do tradesmen have been sent to us to gain knowledge, experience, and discipline."

It is apparent, both from the nature of the case, however, and from Mr. Lord's statement, that the future of these messenger boys is precarious. The experience which is gained is not of a kind to equip for any settled work, and it seems inevitable that the well-paid appointments which the boys find on leaving the Company cannot be in skilled occupations. This "general-utility" messenger work would seem, indeed, to be less promising, and, by its curious variety, more unsettling than the work of telegraph messengers.

MESSENGER BRIGADES FOR POOR BOYS.

An attempt has been made in Southampton and Portsmouth, by the Gordon Boys' Brigade, and in Manchester by the Messenger Brigade in connection with the Boys' Refuge, to use the general messenger work of the district messenger as a means of giving to boys of the poorest homes a better start in the working world than they would have been able to make for themselves. The idea is a good one. Boys who otherwise might have drifted into street-trading, or who, owing to poverty and lack of decent clothing, could not hope to enter regular work, are offered by this means both a start in disciplined work and a ladder by which they may climb to more settled occupations. It is worth considering whether more of the necessary messenger work might not be done, on these principles, by boys of this class. The chief danger seems to be lest, if the public demand cannot be sufficiently supplied by boys of the poorest class, to whom it would be a help, there should be a temptation to supply it by the exploitation of boys who might otherwise have done better for themselves.

Messenger work, as usually carried on at present, stands, however, at the top of the social scale of blind-alley boy work. It absorbs, as in the case of the postal telegraph messenger and in that of the district messenger, boys whose industrial heredity should have led them into skilled occupations, but who are attracted by the relatively high wages which messengers command, by the usually not unpleasing conditions of the work, and sometimes by elusive hopes of future preferment.

At the bottom of the scale stand the street-traders—a class apart, whose condition forms the subject of a separate chapter. Between these two social extremes numbers of boys are absorbed by forms of discontinuous work too various to classify. They minister to sport as golf “caddies”; they are employed to label bottles or parcel tea; or they ply jobs less continuous even than these—selling programmes, distributing handbills, or making themselves useful in miscellaneous services which the particular convenience of different trade evolves.

III

2. WORK OF DOUBTFUL PROSPECT.

There is much work pursued by boys as to which it is hard to predict whether or not, in any given case, it is a preparation for future regular employment. It is not, by its nature, necessarily discontinuous, but in practice often ends with boyhood, or, if it continues, is but a continuation into early manhood of the same kind of work which the worker has done as a boy.

A good illustration of this is the work of errand-

boys in connection with shops. They are most largely engaged in this capacity in shops of the providing trades—grocers, butchers, and the like—in suburban districts of cities, and in smaller towns generally. Shops in central city districts employ them little. The conditions of work differ with local circumstances, but the broad features of the work are the same everywhere. The boy's principal occupation is simply that of delivering orders to customers. In the intervals of his errand work he makes himself useful in the shop. The work is often excessively hard, and the hours are long. The Shop Hours Acts limit the time during which a "young person" (that is, a person under eighteen) may be lawfully employed "in or about a shop" to seventy-four hours a week, including mealtimes. A mid-week half-holiday for shops is now almost universal, and the effect of this is to lengthen unduly the daily hours during which a boy may legally be employed. A shopkeeper, by closing at one o'clock on Wednesday, is enabled to employ his boys twelve hours on Monday and Tuesday, thirteen hours on Thursday, fourteen on Friday, and sixteen on Saturday, and this is constantly done. Boys, beginning work at eight in the morning, are often at work on Thursday until nine, on Friday until ten, and on Saturday until eleven, or even midnight. The work is severe and tiring. The boy is engaged in taking out orders, dragging a ponderous handcart, or carrying heavy baskets. He is on his feet the whole day, and in the course of it walks many miles. The conditions of the work react on its permanency. Boys grow weary of the late hours and the tiring work after a longer or shorter period, and turn to other occupations, less severe but not of necessity more permanent.

The prospects of those who persevere in spite of these hardships are uncertain. There are cases in which they remain to learn the trade of the shop they are serving, and eventually become assistants ; but, though it is difficult to decide with any accuracy the proportion of shop-boys who are retained, it does not seem that the number is large. Some two years ago an inquiry into this question was made in Manchester. The inquiry was not exhaustive, but its results may be taken as typical. Most of the large firms of grocers and provision merchants who were consulted reported that their errand-boys did not remain with them into manhood, or, if they did, they became only porters or vanmen. The manager of one large firm said that the prospects of the boys were good, if they chose to apply themselves to the business, but, on being pressed for details, confessed that he could not remember in his wide experience a single errand-boy who had become a permanent assistant. The head and founder of another large firm, however, with branch shops in the Manchester suburbs and adjacent towns, gave evidence of a more hopeful kind. He showed the inquirer a book, kept by his own hand, in which he enters particulars of the careers of the boys who come to his shop as errand-boys. After the boys have been in his service for half a year, their wages receive a small increment, and their names are entered as regular employees in the employer's book. Their wages are increased every half-year. The managers of the branch shops are given to understand that it is the wish of the head of the business that the boys should be encouraged to remain, and that they should be taught the trade. The result of this care is that practically all the branch managers and assist-

ants serving this firm are recruited from those who have originally come as errand-boys. The regular ascent from errand-boy to manager was shown in the master's register in a large number of cases. This example proves that the purposeless fluctuation which usually characterises the work of boys in connection with shops is not a necessary condition, and if the ready supply of boys willing to serve without prospect could be checked, what is done in this instance could no doubt be done in many more. If at the same time the hours of work in shops were shortened and its conditions improved, there is no reason why work of this kind should not afford a promising avenue to necessary work in manhood.

There are districts in which the constant changes which take place in the ranks of errand-boys employed by the smaller shopkeepers do not of necessity lead to future industrial disablement. In places in which there is a dominant industry which absorbs large numbers of men and boys, it is a usual practice for young boys to serve for a little time as errand-boys in the local shops until they are of age to enter the skilled trade of their neighbourhood. They would doubtless be better employed if they were obliged to continue in school attendance until the time for their entrance upon skilled industry ; but, under present conditions, their working probation in the shops is not without its value, and the temptation to continue in it does not seem sufficiently strong to constitute a danger. It is in districts not so compact as to have an industrial tradition, and in districts in which skilled industries are few, that the acutest danger is found, and it is accordingly in such districts especially that it is important

to develop the latent possibilities of shop work.

It may be noted also that different places seem to have their traditional methods of discharging errand-boy work, and that these methods have a direct bearing upon the ages of the boys who are employed. Fashions in the matter of the handcarts which are used are set by leading tradesmen, for the shopkeeper has not been slow to see that his handcart in its constant perambulations is a good and cheap medium of advertisement. There are districts in which the handcarts used are so heavy and unwieldy that only a big and strong boy can manage them, and in such districts one notices that the supply responds to the demand. Big lads who otherwise might have found their way into skilled trades are engaged upon this porter work, acquiring nothing more specifically valuable than muscular strength and endurance of fatigue. In other districts, in which some enterprising shopkeeper has set the fashion of using a light, well-sprung hand-van, neatly painted with his name and recommendations, younger boys are able to be employed who may be merely "marking time" until they are of age to enter a skilled craft. Method of delivery also helps to solve the problem of late hours. One has in mind a popular holiday resort, which also has a large residential population, in which a few years ago the shop errand-boys used to be kept at work until very late hours. Now they finish early in the evening, and one cause of the change is that most of the shops are furnished with bicycles fitted with carriers, or with cycle hand-vans, with which the boys are able to get through their work in a fraction of the time required when they had to walk, harnessed between the shafts of a handcart. A further

legal restriction of shop hours, so necessary for all shop workers, would no doubt develop universally time-saving devices of this kind.

A form of shop work which has largely increased in recent years is that of "pages" or "door-boys." Such are largely employed in shops and restaurants of the more pretentious type. Hardly any words are too strong to condemn this futile and harmful exploitation of boys in the service of meretricious advertisement. For long hours at a stretch these boys, dressed in stiff liveries, are kept standing in one position to open and close the doors of the establishments they adorn, or, elaborately idle, in the vestibules of restaurants of the "smarter" type. The ineffable weariness and fatigue of hours of idle standing is not greater than the physical injury which such an occupation must produce in a growing boy, the mental enervation, and possibly the moral harm. Prospect there is none, and yet boys sometimes cling to the work until a late age, for the sake of the "tips" which fall to their lot, and which often form the bulk of their earnings.

Among shop employments must be included the work of boys engaged in connection with railway-station bookstalls in selling newspapers to passengers. It is reported that of recent years a marked change has come about in the type of boy who offers himself for this work. A few years ago at the Manchester stations an advertisement for a bookstall boy produced so many applications that the bookstall managers were almost afraid, as one of them declared, to advertise. Now the applicants are few and come from a poorer class than formerly. The conditions of work differ at different stations, but at

the larger centres the work is often very tiring and the hours long. There is a measure of prospect, but it is slender. Assistants and bookstall managers seem, as far as possible, to be recruited from the ranks of the boys, but such openings are out of all proportion to the numbers of the boys employed. It is not now usual, however, for a boy to remain long at bookstall work, and possibly the better class boys who persevere obtain permanent employment, such as it is.

Certain forms of office work must be classified as of doubtful prospect. In every considerable commercial centre are small businesses—agencies and the like—in which all the effective work is done by the master himself. He keeps an office-boy, however, to address envelopes, write up a postage book, answer telephone calls, mind the office in his own frequent absence, and perhaps to justify the addition of the legend “& Co.” after his name. The boy enjoys a larger leisure than is good for him. The exemplary youth will, of course, turn this opportunity to golden account, but the average boy will see in it the occasion only for various sorts of mischief, or for the undisturbed absorption, to the damage of mind and eyesight, of the literature of lurid and lawless adventure. It is seldom that such a boy is offered a tangible prospect or learns anything which will be of future service. His wages are sometimes good out of all proportion to his services, and he is tempted to retain his leisurely position until an age at which it is impossible for him to embark upon trained work, either clerical or manual.

IV

3. PROBATIONARY BOY WORK.

The dangers which are characteristic of blind-alley boy work—its discontinuity, forming an unbridged gulf between the labour of boyhood and the labour of manhood—are not confined to work of this class. They invade boy work, which is by nature probationary, and render its promise delusive.

A great change has passed over the conditions of industrial life which profoundly affects the entrance of a boy upon skilled trades in factories and workshops, and to a large extent in handicrafts. The system of apprenticeship by which a boy learned his trade while engaged upon its simpler processes belonged to an earlier industrial condition than that under which we are living. It is not so much true to say that apprenticeship has passed into disuse, as that changed industrial conditions have fundamentally changed its character. The change has come about so gradually that we are hardly fully aware of the consequences it has produced. We cling to the idea of apprenticeship as we knew it, and find by experience that it can no longer be depended upon. Thus apprenticeship itself may be a lure into a blind-alley work, or what is much like it, within the skilled trades themselves.

The industrial changes which have produced this result, varying in different trades, may be classed generally under three heads: (1) the development of minute specialisation; (2) the substitution of machine for hand processes; and (3) the creation of a number of casual jobs performed by boys, with no relation to skilled em-

ployment — the employment, in fact, of boy labourers.

Specialisation of processes is a device, of course, for greater rapidity of production, and on that account it is most characteristic of the larger concerns. The tendency, however, seems to be almost universal, and the greater speed of work secured by this means hastens the extinction of smaller and slower undertakings by their larger and speedier rivals. Specialisation, therefore, will become more and more the rule of industry. The effect of this development on the industrial training of boys is to make it virtually impossible for a learner to become fully equipped in all the processes of his trade, or sometimes even to see all the processes in operation. He never sees his trade as a whole. The interest which comes from intelligent knowledge of what he is doing is denied him. He tends at the outset to become a mechanical worker, and his future prospects are limited to employment in the minute compartment in which he alone has capacity.

But as this aspect of the problem is exhaustively dealt with in another chapter we need here only note how it is that into factories and workshops creep the insidious dangers of blind-alley boy work, more subtle even than in occupations whose lack of prospect is obvious, by reason of their partial connection with skilled work. The decay of apprenticeship is seen to be, not an accidental disuse of a valuable system, but the inevitable result of changed industrial conditions, and the hope that, at least as concerns the work of factories and workshops, it can ever be revived is seen to be elusive. In other forms of manual work — in trades such as that of plumbing, carpentry, and the like—it survives; but even

in many of these the conditions of the time make it precarious.

In spite of the increasingly uncertain prospects which it presents, there has been a strong reaction of late towards manual work and against office work as a career for boys. Like all reactions, it is largely unreasoning. There has, no doubt, been in some quarters what is contemptuously called "the worship of the black coat," based upon the idea that the work of a clerk is more "genteel" than that of an artisan. But, if this idea is unspeakably foolish, hardly better is the tendency to see "dignity" only in the work of the hand. And when one considers the work of boys in factories and workshops, and their work in good offices, whether commercial or professional, from the point of view of prospect, the office work has often the best of the comparison. It is less precarious ; it is not subject to periods of stoppage at times when work is slack ; its wages continue during holiday seasons ; it is not in the same danger of being superseded by the invention of new mechanical methods, and the positions to which it leads are more varied, and often offer greater scope to individual qualities of application and aptitude. Obviously office work has to be done, and obviously there are boys fitted to succeed in it, who would fail in handicrafts. Employment in small offices of the kind previously mentioned is open to grave condemnation, but in the offices of considerable firms prospects are good, and the ordered routine of a well-conducted office, the necessity for accuracy and regard to detail, are valuable means of discipline.

Office work is one of the forms of juvenile labour over which legislation has as yet exercised no control. Yet in office work control is

certainly needed. Overtime is often exacted from the boys to an unscrupulous extent, and the irregularity of hours which results is a hindrance to their attendance at Continuation Classes. An illuminating correspondence on this question appeared in one of the Manchester evening papers in April, 1907. The correspondence originated with a letter headed "A Plea for Office Boys," in which the writer pointed out the late hours to which in some Manchester offices boys were often employed. A second correspondent suggested that some of the victims of the system should furnish particulars of the extent to which they were compelled to work overtime, and the challenge elicited some striking facts.

"Myself, with six more boys, ages ranging from thirteen to eighteen," wrote one lad, "start at 8.30 a.m. and finish at 6.30. There are two nights in every ordinary week in which four of us have to work till 10 p.m., more often still later. They allow 8d. to us for tea-money for this extra labour, and we have, of course, to spend this, so we are nothing in pocket. When the Evening Classes started last September, we were told by the head of the firm that we must learn shorthand and business methods, so we paid our session fees and made a glorious record in attendance. This same man a few weeks ago affected great surprise when he casually heard about our stopping late. I do not think," adds the boy, "that this reflects credit on the commercial gentlemen of Manchester."

We shall probably agree with him, and a case like this, which is typical enough, at any rate shows the need of some legislative restriction of the work of boys in offices.

V.

Our survey of boy work, focussed in some of its most typical forms, brings into relief its

constant economic danger, and suggests the fatal ease with which that danger is incurred. The Elementary Schools disgorge their annual thousands of boys, untrained, undirected, with plans unformed, and with almost entire ignorance of the conditions of the working world into which, nevertheless, they are constrained immediately to enter. Deliberate choice seldom determines their selection of work, or, when choice there is, it is oftener ruled by considerations of immediate wage than of ultimate prospect. They are, therefore, readily absorbed by discontinuous boy work, the wage of which is often disproportionately high. If, on the other hand, either through choice or the guidance of local industrial conditions, they find their way into factories or workshops, or into other kinds of manual work, the altering circumstances of industry make their adequate training and future employment uncertain, or, within the skilled trades, they are engaged upon casual labour. Whatever path he pursues the working-boy is in danger—though the danger of all paths is not equally great—of unemployment and unfitness in manhood. The economic danger would not be avoided by the elimination of “blind-alley” occupations, and it appears that the problem as a whole can only be solved by the careful guidance of the boy from the moment of school exemption, and the reorganisation of juvenile work which would probably result, when such guidance became sufficiently general and authoritative to react upon the conditions of boy labour in all its branches.

The problem of boy work must be considered, too, in its effect upon the character of the boy-worker. It is not difficult in broad outline to sketch that influence. Its tendency

is to accentuate the natural instability of boy character. The steady ballast of a definite purpose, followed with perseverance, is wanting. The task work is for a day, and there is no hope to transfigure its drudgery. Considerations of less hardship or a slightly higher wage lead to constant aimless change. The will becomes enervated, and the whole conception of life and labour is lowered. There can be no sense of dignity in work that is undertaken merely to earn a pittance, and in which there is no vista of future competence. The extraordinary casualness of the boy-worker, his lighthearted abandonment of his place on the flimsiest pretext, his periods of "rest" between his intermittent jobs, which many workers among boys have noted and condemned, is less to be laid to the charge of the boy than to the charge of the system which encourages his natural irresponsibility. To pursue with steadiness work which may be intolerably hard, which makes no pretence to anything more valuable than passing convenience, and which offers no prospect, implies in the boy either a power of concentration which is shamefully squandered in such pursuits, or the numbing of initiative and the almost lethargic acquiescence in a hard and hopeless lot, which also is, in certain natures, the effect of casual work in boyhood. The tonic of purposeful work is needed to brace the irresponsible, and to draw forth the best from the persevering, whose qualities are lost to the community under the present system. The tale of the boy's life is a series of unrelated incidents; it needs to be unified by progressive organisation, in the interests no less of national character than of national economy.

IV

BOY LABOUR : TOWARDS REFORM

BY SPENCER J. GIBB AND J. H. WHITEHOUSE

THE survey of the wide field of boy-labour given in the preceding section suggests at once some of the difficulties and some of the necessities of the position. It is evident that reform, to be effective, must be wide enough to cover the whole area, and elastic enough to be readily adaptable to differing local conditions. Legislative control of individual forms of juvenile work would necessarily be too minute to be practicable. The characteristic danger—the danger of future industrial unfitness—recurs in almost every form of boy labour as at present carried on, and the whole problem, therefore, despite the variety of its local and separate expressions, offers to the efforts of reform a single and coherent aspect.

We believe, further, that careful control of the boy's first step into the working world, effectively cutting off the easy supply of boys ready to engage upon any casual work, without consideration of the future, would automatically and naturally improve the conditions of boy labour and develop its potential prospects. But to bring about this result it is essential that the control should be authoritative and universal. It must be control, moreover, which begins with the moment of school exemption, and which has been

prepared for, and worked up to, during the period of schooling. In this matter prevention is not only better than cure, but cure is often hopeless, while prevention would have been comparatively easy. It is for these reasons that voluntary social effort alone is powerless to solve the problem, or even to touch it effectively. It is necessarily too partial, and it is often too late. The Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association in London, and the local committees affiliated with it in London and the provinces, are doing, within their scope, valuable work. The succinct and judicial "Trades for London Boys," published by the Association, is invaluable, but the well-digested mass of information contained in it can only yield its full harvest when authority has made it generally available and has directed all along the avenues which it points out. While thousands of boys pass from school without such guidance, and are suffered to use their liberty for their own industrial undoing, the reaction on the working world will not be of sufficient strength to modify conditions and prospects, and suitable openings will, therefore, fail to respond to a wiser demand, if a wiser demand is created. And in cases where the advice of the Association, or of Labour Registries, established in connection with individual schools and lads' clubs, reaches the boy only after his first step has been taken, it is often impossible for that advice to retrieve the disaster of the early mistake. Such voluntary efforts, in fine, can at present do little more than ambulance work among those who are crippled in the machinery of modern industry. A similar criticism would seem to apply to the Trade Schools which, admirable in the principles they represent, and often in the methods they adopt, are as yet too tentative

and local to touch the problem as a whole, though it must not be thought that we depreciate their work; we desire its extension. Voluntary social effort has paved the way for authoritative and general reform, and when that reform is attained voluntary social effort will be a valuable ally.

We believe, therefore, that the ultimate remedy of the evils of boy work is to be sought in the national organisation of juvenile labour, as a whole, from the moment of leaving school, with the Elementary School as the centre, and under the direction of the local education authorities, empowered, and in principle controlled, by the Central Authority of the State.

We proceed to set out in detail the lines along which we conceive that this universal control should travel.

I

Reform will begin with the Elementary School itself. It has been already pointed out that elementary education, adapted to the industrial conditions of an earlier day, fails adequately to respond to the present needs of working boys. There is a lack of *rapport* between school and work. School and work have no relation in the boy's life-story. The teaching of the Elementary School, rightly unspecialised, fails as a general equipment for the demands of the immediate future. The teaching is too much a matter of rule of thumb to serve as training; the memory is laden with facts, and the reason and intelligence are too little exercised upon them. Though the word has a strange sound in this connection, the teaching of the Elementary School has been too *academic*.

These defects of elementary education were stated with much moderation, but with the assurance of experience, in a Report on the Education and Early Employment of Lancashire Children, written by Messrs. Campagnac and Russell, of Manchester, in 1903, and published as one of the Special Reports on Educational Subjects, under the editorship of Professor M. E. Sadler.¹

Their conclusions were based partly upon a wide and intimate knowledge of working boys, and partly upon opinions collected from many representative employers of labour. They notice "two cardinal defects" in the work of the school as an equipment for life. "The interest and sympathy of the pupils have not been sufficiently awakened," and "the education has very largely failed to touch the imagination, or to help in the formation and preservation of character and conduct." The complaint of employers is singularly unanimous. Even boys who have passed through the schools with some distinction have failed to master their resources in such a manner as to be able to turn them to practical account. They may, for instance, be quick at arithmetic, so long as the "sums" they are required to work follow familiar lines and can be done on definite rules; but they have no grasp of principles to enable them to apply what they have learned to new requirements. And this lack of adaptability, and dependence upon memorised rules, is characteristic of all they do.

The adequacy of the Elementary School as a means of training forms the subject of an impressive chapter in the Report of the Consulta-

¹ Special Reports on Educational Subjects, supplement to Vol. VIII., 1903.

tive Committee on Attendance at Continuation Schools (Chapter IV.). Their conclusions support what has just been said :—

“ The Committee believe that, owing to various causes, such as the unsatisfactory conditions under which many teachers do their work, the early age at which many children leave school, and the fact that their energies are often diminished by exhausting employments out of school hours, many boys and girls leave the day schools with little more than a smattering of real education. Even what they have learned is often of an academic rather than a practical nature, and if, as often happens, they go at once into unskilled work, and have no opportunity of applying and fixing the knowledge they have acquired, they soon forget even what little they have learned.”

It is of significant interest to compare the conclusions of such a Report as that of Messrs. Campagnac and Russell with those of the Mosely Education Commission to the United States of America.

“ What struck me,” says Mr. Mosely, “ in going through the public schools, whether primary or college, of the United States, was the success attained in making the scholars self-reliant, in bringing out their individual qualities, and teaching them to reason.”

Mr. A. W. Black, one of the Commissioners, writes to the same effect :—

“ The teaching given in the Elementary Schools produces a mental alertness and readiness of mind to a greater extent than is secured in this country.”¹

¹ Reports of the Mosely Education Commission to the United States of America, 1903, pp. 13 and 38.

It is possible that the higher training efficiency of American education explains the greater public belief in it that exists; and that, were our elementary education to succeed in the same way, some of the public apathy which at present impedes it would vanish.

The needful reform within the Elementary School, then, would seem to be in the direction of more practical and living method. It is a reproach not peculiar to the Elementary School that instruction has been regarded as education, and not merely as an instrument of education; but the peculiar conditions of the Elementary School have made the confusion more unfortunate in its results than elsewhere. The too short period of elementary schooling has been overloaded with a curriculum too ambitious in its nature and too wide in its scope. The end of education is to prepare for life, though not, in the narrower sense, for livelihood, and in the short period of elementary schooling the connection between school and life should be drawn closer. Each subject on the curriculum should be considered, not so much as an end in itself as in its usefulness as a means of training.

The movement in the direction of increased manual training—not as a preparation for any handicraft but as a discipline of hand and eye and resourcefulness—is, in one respect, the embodiment of the reform for which we plead. The Consultative Committee on Attendance at Continuation Schools pleads strongly for it. They consider that “manual instruction should, in some form, enter into the curriculum of all schools for older scholars, as is the case already in London and some other large towns, and that this important branch of their training should

not be dropped, as it so often now is, when children leave the Infant School.”¹

We think, further, that of even greater importance is the extension to all subjects taught—including reading, writing, and arithmetic—of the practical method, which gives to manual training its chief value. There seems to be no reason why the more “literary” subjects should not equally be brought into touch with life.

If the teaching of reading were understood to include the development of a reasonable taste for literature, an accurate emphasis and enunciation of the matter read, and an intelligent habit of attention; if the art of writing were taught by practise of such uses as it is made to serve in daily business and correspondence; if arithmetic were likewise taught less theoretically, and less by rule, and more in its application to practical needs, and on understood principles—we believe that the “three R’s” alone, with the correlative interests thus combined in them, would furnish means of an education wide enough in scope for the Elementary School, essentially related to life, and adaptable to the demands of work and the pursuit of further education.

It is, of course, most true, as the Consultative Committee point out, that the present work of the Elementary School is sadly hampered by excessive out of school labour, and by such faults of internal organisation as the unmanageable size of many of the classes: and we must be understood to regard the removal of these hindrances as a necessary accompaniment of the reform of educational method which is advocated.

¹ Report of Consultative Committee, vol. i. p. 54.

II

The school being, by such means as these, brought into more immediate touch with practical life, and its utility being, therefore, more generally apparent, the way is clear to consider the question of raising the school exemption age.

We believe, with the Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption, that the time has come for the total abolition of half-time labour. The careful Report of that Committee appears to prove that the system is neither necessary nor desirable, and that its effect, not only on the education of the scholars who avail themselves of it but on the whole efficiency of the schools they attend, is bad.

When we turn to the question of total exemption, we find that, while the opinions of educational reformers differ as to the precise age of exemption, there is a converging consensus of opinion that the present age of exemption should be raised, and raised to an age fixed by statute, and modifiable, in exceptional cases only, by local bylaw.

The Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption would abolish total exemption under the age of thirteen, except "for the purposes of beneficial or necessary employment," and would make "due attendance at a Continuation Class the ordinary condition for exemption."¹ The Consultative Committee on Attendance at Continuation Schools would go farther, and make fourteen the normal age of exemption, empowering local Education Authorities "to grant exemptions to children between twelve and

¹ Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption from School Attendance (Cd. 4791), pp. 18, 91.

fourteen in exceptional cases," which should, however, be very rare.¹

This proposal seems to embody a necessary and immediately practicable reform, though the permission, even in certain cases, to grant total exemption at the age of twelve, is surely, on the evidence that both Reports adduce, unnecessary. If it is, as the Committee on Partial Exemption conclude, unnecessary and undesirable to employ children of twelve half-time, it seems hardly reasonable to grant them total exemption during their thirteenth year "for purposes of beneficial or necessary employment," which, on the evidence of the Report itself, can hardly exist. The statutory raising of the school age to fourteen, however, would be a valuable step, and would no doubt pave the way for further advance, as industry adapted itself (so far as any adaptation is really necessary) to the higher age.

Consider the probable effect upon boy labour of the general raising of the school-exemption age to fourteen. It would at once cut off the supply of young boys who are at present often employed at an early age as shop errand-boys and in other like occupations. The work at present done by them would have to be undertaken by boys leaving school at the later age of fourteen. Supposing some effective guidance as to the choice of work to be organised in the schools, and considering the general effect of another year of schooling, the probability is that greater care in the first step would be taken at the later age, and that, therefore, some organisation of their work with a view to prospect would have to be undertaken by employers before they could obtain the boys they needed. Some of

¹ Report, vol. i., p. 58.

the more frivolous forms of work which have multiplied of recent years would no doubt fall altogether into disuse. They are usually recruited either immediately by boys leaving school at an early age or by older boys who, leaving school early, have occupied their time in casual forms of employment, and have no other choice than to remain in work of a similar kind.

On the other hand, it should be remembered that a boy leaving school at fourteen, without definite plan or guidance, and plunging into some kind of unsatisfactory work, is likely to be in a worse position in a year or two than a boy who has made the same mistake at an earlier age. He is older before discovering his error, and is therefore in greater danger of industrial disablement.

III

This consideration suggests the next step in reform. It is not enough to keep boys at school until a later age than at present. It is necessary, further, to guide their first steps into the working world and to retain control over them until a later age.

Our present mode of procedure in the State care of children is an entirely anomalous one. We ordain that all children shall be educated. We so far invade the liberty of the parent by our system of State-controlled education as to compel him to send his child to school. We expend large sums of money on his education. We allow him, however, to leave school at a purely arbitrary age, and from the moment of school exemption the State not only relinquishes

in almost all cases any vestige of control over him, but exchanges its previous systematic care for total neglect. Control ceases, further, at the moment when it is most needed. The time of transition from school to work is, as we have seen, the most critical period in a boy's life. The years of adolescence, squandered in purposeless work, can never be recovered. They cast to waste all that the previous schooling has done, and at last throw the boy back upon the State in early manhood, unprovided, unfit, and unemployable. It cannot, therefore, be said with too much emphasis that the extension of the period of school *supervision* beyond the age of school *exemption* which is now proposed involves no principle of State interference, but is only the logical end of what is already admitted. If the State has the right to educate on a compulsory system, it has further clearly the right and the duty to guard from waste the fruits of the education it has given. And every consideration of economy and common sense urges that this should be done.

Collaterally, therefore, with the raising of the age of school exemption should be established a system by which boys so leaving should be kept under the supervision of the local Education Authorities at least for two years more. This supervision, carried out with authority, but with the aid of voluntary workers, would have special regard to the suitability of the work to which boys went on leaving school.

The Consultative Committee on Attendance at Continuation Schools go farther, and recommend the replacement in schools of boys who are found to be unemployed up to the age of sixteen. The suggestion is so important, and the findings of this Committee are deserving of such careful

consideration, that we quote the recommendation fully :—

“The Committee have already suggested the raising of the school age to fourteen. They are prepared to go farther, and recommend that no boy or girl under sixteen years of age shall be allowed to leave school, even at fourteen, unless they can show that they are going to be properly occupied. ‘Beneficial employment’ is already made a condition of exemption in bylaws (though a rather more stringent interpretation of the phrase is desirable), and the Committee see no reason why the principle should not be extended farther. If children have got no work to do, it is no privation to the parents to retain them at school. On the other hand, all experience seems to show that it may save them from temptations which may prove disastrous to them.

“In order to give practical effect to this suggestion it would be necessary for the local Education Authority to extend their existing registers of school children so as to include in them a list of children in the district up to sixteen years of age. Exemption from day school attendance would be allowed at fourteen, provided that the child were suitably employed. In the case of girls employment in home duties would, of course, be counted as falling under this head. If a child under sixteen who had been exempted from day school attendance in order to enter upon approved employment, ceased to be employed, the requirement to attend the day school would again have to be complied with, and would be enforced by the school attendance officer. It would be necessary to make special provision for the children thus brought back to school. In the classes so organised, the work of the pupils should be of a very practical character.”¹

While cordially approving the principle of this recommendation, we hesitate to endorse it quite in this crude form. We fear that the suggestion

¹ Report, vol. i., p. 65.

of replacement in school would be rarely practicable. The condition of replacement—that the boy has “ceased to be employed”—implies that at the moment of replacement he is not working, and therefore not earning; but, supposing his unemployment to be merely temporary, through discharge, the replacement in school would be a hindrance to his seeking other work; or, supposing his unemployment to result from his having embarked upon unsuitable work, he has no time to waste before seeking a more satisfactory opening. In either case, or in any case imaginable, the replacement in school would be of such short duration as to make it almost worthless. Moreover we look to a system under which such boys though at work would be in partial attendance at continuation schools.

We believe that the needs of the case would be sufficiently met by a system of supervision which should aim at placing the boy, on methods to be described, in the most promising work attainable, watching over him during its continuance, and rendering him help and advice should he for any reason relinquish it.

The method by which the proposed supervision should be carried out might be advisory committees for each school, or for a group of adjacent schools, on lines which are set forth in a later chapter.¹

We would add that the advisory committees should be the authority to decide whether any proposed career were “beneficial employment” or not, supposing the entrance upon such employment to be made a condition of school exemption, and that the requirements in this regard should

¹ “The Supervision of Juvenile Employment.”

not be left to the discretion of Local Authorities, but should follow general lines laid down for the whole country by the Central Authority, acting on the advice of experts.

Further, the advisory committee would keep in authoritative touch with boys until the age of sixteen or seventeen (we think the latter age advisable), and the boys would be required until that age to report themselves regularly to the committee. The committee should be given power to prohibit the entrance of a boy less than seventeen years of age upon any form of work which they might deem undesirable; and relinquishing his work for any cause, the boy should apply to the committee for a fresh start.

Finally, we think that juvenile work as a whole should be placed under further legislative control by means of a single Act, correlating the provisions which at present regulate certain phases of it, and extending such provisions to those forms of work which are at present untouched by legislation. The main provisions of such an Act should be absolute, a certain elasticity being retained by conferring upon the Local Authorities power to regulate juvenile industry in their locality, in accordance with local needs, by means of bylaws. The option of making, or failing to make, such bylaws, should not, however, be given: and the bylaws themselves should be suffered to vary in detail only, and not in principle. They should, of course, be confirmed by the Secretary of State.

When careful legislation had thus restricted the hours of juvenile labour, and introduced a general uniformity into the conditions of it, we should then be in a position to consider proposals to make extended education in Continuation Classes generally compulsory; to make attendance

upon such classes a condition of school exemption, and the manner of them in individual cases the business of the school advisory committee already proposed. Our proposals are only the preliminary to a system of extended education, but such a system would be doomed to failure if unaccompanied by other reforms. In particular we agree with the view urged by Professor Sadler, "that the law should place all employers . . . under statutory obligation to enable young persons of less than seventeen years of age who are in their employment to attend courses of technical instruction for four hours a week at times of day when the pupils are not too tired to profit by the teaching,"¹ and this would pave the way for the ultimate adoption of the wise recommendation of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, that the work of all youths under eighteen should be restricted to thirty hours a week; that the employer should be obliged to see that boys in his employ had their names on the roll of "some suitable public institution, giving physical training and technical education," and that boys should be compelled to attend such an institution for at least thirty hours a week.²

In conclusion, we may offer a word about what appears to be a formidable practical difficulty in the way of such reforms as have been advocated.

On the one hand, the question is asked: "How are apparently necessary forms of boy work to be done for the community—such as the delivery of telegrams, and other like services—if the proposed reforms should succeed eventually

¹ "Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere," p. 19.

² Minority Report, Chapter V. (B.), (I.).

in diverting boys from them into probationary work?" On the other hand, the statement is made that it would be impossible to find openings of a promising nature sufficient to respond to the demand which would be created.

We believe that neither of these difficulties is so formidable as at first sight they appear to be. Briefly, our answer to the first difficulty would be threefold :—

(1) Many of the forms of boy work which are at present largely used, and which present the acutest danger of future unfitness, are in reality quite unnecessary. They have multiplied in recent years as numbers of boys were found to be available who, for a small wage, were prepared to enter upon casual employments without thought of the future. The supply being checked, they would pass into disuse, and the public would in reality hardly feel their loss.

(2) There is some necessary work—such, for instance, as that of errand-boys in connection with shops—which, as has been pointed out in the preceding section, is of doubtful prospect. Often undertaken at present without consideration of the future, and often ending with youth, it is, even now, sometimes made probationary. It might be made so in all cases. The pressure of necessity would compel employers to reorganise their work on these lines.

(3) There remains the large bulk of messenger work which, as we have seen, absorbs so many thousands of boys, and is, in its nature, unrelated to the work of manhood.

We believe with regard to this that organisation and guidance would enable the work to be done without incurring the danger of future industrial disablement. It would be possible for the General Post Office to absorb the bulk of their

telegraph messengers, as used to be done, by cancelling or modifying the unsatisfactory arrangement with the services. We understand, too, that attempts are at present being made to open a larger number of positions within the Post Office to messengers. The boys who could not be retained and who may still be necessary, might be allowed, on the advice of the school advisory committees, to engage upon messenger work for a stated time, without risk to their future. The same method of recruiting might be allowed to supply the messengers needed by the independent telegraph and cable companies. On any scheme that could be devised there would of necessity be boys at the age of fourteen who had not formed definite plans for the future, or whose fitness was not at once apparent to the advisory committees.

Such boys might be allowed to fill up a little intervening time as messengers, being during that period kept under careful supervision, and withdrawn when regular work had been found for them. Such "general-utility" messenger work as that done by the District Messenger Company in London, though convenient, is not necessary, and perhaps under the pressure of reform would pass into disuse. Or possibly it might be used as a stepping-stone for boys of the poorest class, as in the case of the Gordon Brigades in Portsmouth and Southampton.

Some suggestion of a solution of the difficulty of finding suitable openings for all the boys has been implied in the foregoing paragraphs. We believe that, in thinking of promising openings, we must guard against the mistake of assuming that such openings are found only in the skilled manual trades. Then indeed the supply would fall far short of the demand: it does so even

to-day. Partly by the nature of the case, and partly owing to trades union restrictions, it is idle to hope that places could be found for all the boys leaving the Elementary Schools in the trades. Nor is it desirable. It would be folly to attempt, even if the attempt had any possibility of success, to fit all boys into the mould of a single type of work. Openings at least equally promising can, under present conditions, be found in offices and warehouses. Our contention is that the unsystematic entrance of boys upon work has given no incentive to the development of the possibilities latent in almost all occupations, except those which are solely boy work. The compulsory choice directed by the School Advisory Committees would immediately react upon the conditions and prospects of boy work. Employers would reorganise their work in the direction of prospect; there would be fewer changes in the lower grades of their staff; elementary work would be far better done when it was regarded as the first step to something beyond; and by this means we believe that suitable openings would gradually multiply in response to the demand.

V

BOY LABOUR AND THE FACTORY SYSTEM

BY A. K. CLARK KENNEDY

To such an advanced stage has governmental control and supervision of industrial labour been carried in this country, that it is now no exaggeration to state that there are few types of work and still fewer classes of employees which have not come in the course of time to have their needs specifically dealt with by a beneficent State. And of no section of the wage-earning community have the interests been more closely and sympathetically considered or more adequately safeguarded than that of young male workers.

Though there may be truth in the contention that little heed is paid to the choice of work which a boy makes upon leaving school, it is apparent that should he be led to enter factory life he will find that once he has arrived there his physical, if not his economic, state is carefully seen to. The subject of boy labour is, indeed, one that has long occupied the attention of the Legislature in a very special sense. It was on account of the lamentable condition of apprentices in cotton and other mills, and for their sake alone, that a first beginning was made with factory law in 1802, and each successive

“workmen’s charter” has, in its turn, added something to the ever-broadening structure which to-day stands as a protection between young factory hands and such moral, physical, and social dangers as are incidental to life in a modern workshop. Thus it is that the comprehensive Act of 1901, developed by a number of subsequent Orders by successive Secretaries of State, besides applying its main principles to the protection of young people employed in workplaces, contains many sections dealing particularly and exclusively with the conditions of their employment in a variety of its phases.

Young lads entering upon their industrial career clearly stand in need of special thought and attention, and this has not been denied them by Parliament or by philanthropists; they have been seen to require, and have consequently received, their due meed of protection. And this has been procured for them by taking action in four main directions:—

1. By prescribing a minimum age below which employment is illegal.
2. By regulating the periods of employment for those above the minimum age, by means of fixing a daily maximum of hours of work, and a minimum of meal hours and of weekly and annual holidays.
3. By excluding young persons altogether from certain dangerous and unhealthy occupations.
4. By requiring that employment in all other classes of work shall be rendered as safe and healthy as is practicable in varying circumstances.

The main provisions of the law, as they fall under these four heads, are dealt with in detail

below. It is necessary, however, before discussing them, briefly to outline the history of industrial legislation in this country, so far as it relates definitely to the subject under review.

Here, however, space is lacking in which to develop a recital of what forms the centre of one of the most enthralling episodes in our national history, the story of how this country strove at once to blot out for ever, and abundantly to atone for, the atrocious and long-standing national shame that was hers, in allowing those who were wearing out their young lives in contributing to her industrial glory and wealth to do so in conditions of the most unutterable misery, pain, and hopelessness.

In her efforts to repair the wrong she has proved herself successful beyond praise. Under the famous Lord Shaftesbury she started on a road of reform which she has never deserted. Indeed, as they stand the modern Factory Acts remain in principle, and in much of their detail also, exactly as propounded by this man. Necessary additions and modifications have naturally been required, but in the main he is their creator. And he is more; he is the father of the factory systems of the whole civilised world, for it was he who conceived the idea and constructed the framework in this pioneer country; and other nations, who now regulate hours and conditions of labour, have in many cases done so to a great extent in the form of direct and avowed imitation of our system. But though a comprehensive description of the growth of the Factory Acts is impossible, a sketch of the birth of these measures is necessary to a proper understanding of the present state of the law, and to an appreciation of the abuses which it is its function to prevent. The consoli-

dating Act of 1901 was not made in a day, and was largely framed by the inclusion of the main provisions of preceding enactments. Its effect was to simplify and elaborate the principles which had long been accepted as the bulwarks of British industrial law; the prescribing of hours, the standardising of requisite accommodation, and the preservation of life and limb.

HISTORY OF FACTORY ACT LEGISLATION.

Prior to the general introduction of mechanically driven industrial machinery the manufacture of goods was usually conducted upon what was known as the "domestic" system. Operations were carried on by a multitude of small masters, each with his own little staff working for him in the employer's own home. Even where the intervention of capital was to be seen on anything approaching an important scale, it appeared chiefly in the direction of supplying material and implements, and not in that of congregating large bodies of workpeople within one building and under the capitalist's eye. The relations between the small masters and their apprentices were consequently of a friendly and personal nature; and though the modern factory boy may have more freedom and greater opportunities for individual choice, he usually receives less personal attention and often less useful instruction than did his mediæval prototype.

It was, consequently, not until the factory system had been inaugurated and till the apprentice of the rural hand-loom weaver had been converted into the town mill hand, and placed at work beside his little brother, who had formerly done nothing more serious than playing in the village street, that it was found necessary to step in between the employer and the workman, and

to protect the latter from the possible neglect or oppression of his master. This, however, had become glaringly necessary by 1802, and a series of Acts since that date have attempted to put the matter right.

Peel, Shaftesbury, and other less famous men began by attacking a few of the most obvious evils, and eventually succeeded in making out such an excellent case for State interference that even the most ardent supporters of the then dominant *laissez faire* principle were bound to admit that something had to be done, and that differences did exist between the conditions controlling the exchange of goods and those affecting the exchange of human services. And though many maintained to the last that adults should be left free to sell their labour in the best market on what conditions they liked, even they were ready to allow that restrictions were called for in the case of children who obviously could not make their own bargains, and who were in no sense free agents.

Thus, in the first instance, the law, for all practical purposes, only affected young people, and it was further limited in its application by being restricted to "the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others employed in cotton and other mills and cotton and other factories"; for though the recurrence of the word "other" in this title gives it a semblance of general application, its effect was strictly limited. However, the clothes, food, hours of work, sleeping accommodation, and even the religious instruction which the apprentices should receive were defined; and it is interesting to notice in passing that the regulation of some of these things has disappeared from among the clauses of the modern Factory Acts, partly because they

are dealt with by other Statutes (*e.g.*, the Education Acts) and partly because one great source of abuse has disappeared, namely, the farming out or selling of pauper children to employers, and because the normal factory boy now resides with his own family at home, and not either in the poorhouse or with the child-labour middleman.

Unfortunately the first few Acts, though good in intention, were in effect of little use, for the simple reason that they were not enforced, and even after an organised system of inspection had been introduced, the well-known "false relay" system made the detection of breaches of the Acts very difficult, until in course of time methods of inspection were perfected.

Gradually too the law came to be broadened. Non-textile factories and workshops were brought within its scope, and subsequently laundries, docks, warehouses, and other industrial buildings have been added.

To give a concise and logical account of the procedure by which this has been accomplished would be impossible, and is best not attempted. The statesmen and philanthropists who brought about the present state of affairs did so by dealing from time to time with different evils as they became apparent or as opportunity offered, with the aid, now and then, of a general consolidating measure to put matters in order. They added to the edifice a brick here and a brick there, with little thought of due order or of strict architectural design, and it is probably for this very reason that the present law is so eminently reasonable, and so well adapted to the varying requirements of different trades. It may also be the reason why certain odd anomalies are now and then to be witnessed. For example, there seems to be little logic in securing protection for

the boy of fourteen who stitches the garments in the tailor's workshop and in seeking to secure it for the one who assists to sell those garments in the clothier's shop, while the lad who carries the goods — perhaps all through the night — between the two is, except in exceptional circumstances, entirely uncontrolled by industrial law. Again, so recently as within the last half-century a great number of lads were, from the age of five and six, or even less, found working anything up to fifteen hours a day, carrying great masses of clay to and fro in rural brickfields ; and though this work, being carried on in the open air, was far more healthy than many another occupation, diseased and demented youth was a common result. It was still necessary in 1870 for George Smith (who had himself made bricks at the age of seven) to claim the protection of the law for thirty thousand children and young people, some of whom were as young as three, and this ¹ though labourers in other trades had long since received attention, and though years before Shaftesbury had told Parliament how

“ these little footsore and weary children, goaded on by brutal gangsmen ; year in, year out ; in summer heat and winter cold ; in sickness and in health ; these English slaves, with education neglected, with morals corrupted, degraded and brutalised, laboured from early morning till late at night, and by the loss of all things, gained the miserable pittance that barely kept them from starvation.”

Still, for all that, the law as it now stands is wonderfully complete, as well as suited in a

¹ Certain brickfields indeed, had been brought under the Acts, but only those where more than fifty persons were employed.

striking manner, through its exemptions and its elasticity, to the needs both of wage-earners and of manufacturers.

Such portions of it as are more particularly concerned with the protection of boys may be summarised as follows.

1. MINIMUM AGE.

Until quite recently the problem of what is a suitable minimum age for young people to commence industrial life has remained one of the most acutely controversial subjects for discussion in this country. At the time when the first adoption of machinery was driving work from the labourers' homes into the factories, and when a young child perched upon a stool could control a machine which performed work that had formerly employed the services of a number of skilled men, it was natural that the tendency to exploit child labour should receive an impetus, and be carried to such excess as the need or greed of parents and employers demanded. And so the presence of tiny children in workplaces of all descriptions grew more and more common, and their sufferings more and more acute, as it became increasingly apparent how useful and cheap their services were, and how difficult it was for parents to subsist without the scanty earnings of the children who had taken their places in the manufacture of goods. When at last the appalling state of affairs which resulted had begun to stir the national conscience, it was ultimately seen to be necessary for Parliament to decide upon a suitable minimum age. A first step was to weed out the very smallest of the little workers; and as it became possible, from time to time, to raise the age, this was gradually done in conjunction with an effort to make a

beginning with elementary education upon a national scale. And so step by step the age reached a higher and more reasonable figure, while the small sufferers were led from the trolley and the bench to the comparative comfort and brightness of the home and eventually to that of the schoolhouse. By 1891 the age had been carried to eleven, only to be altered ten years later to twelve, at which point it now stands.

Full-time employment is, however, not legal until a child is fourteen, unless a school certificate of proficiency or due attendance has been obtained, in which case a boy may commence full-time work a year earlier. For all others under fourteen employment is only permitted upon the half-time system, which is briefly as follows.

While young persons above the age of fourteen may be employed in factories and workshops for the same number of hours as are allowed by law to women (approximately twelve specified hours per day, inclusive of meal times), those below that age are reckoned as children, and may only work "half-time." This may be done in two ways. Either they may work full-time on alternate days or half-time on each day of the week, attending school in either case for the remaining periods.

Such employment is short and easy indeed compared with that which existed prior to 1838, when Lord Shaftesbury at last succeeded in persuading Parliament to restrict the hours of work for children under fourteen to eight a day, after having previously argued in vain that "when the House, in its wisdom and mercy, had decided that forty-five hours in a week was a term of labour long enough for an adult negro, he thought it would not have been unbecoming their spirit of lenity if they had considered whether

sixty-nine hours a week were not too many for the children of the British Empire." The House rejected the proposal for the moment, but it was not long before it started upon the path prepared by Shaftesbury, and it has ever since from time to time pressed on in the same direction.

Many other Acts have stepped in to assist in the work of emancipation. The Education Acts, the Employment of Children Act, the Cruelty Act, and finally the codifying statute of 1908 have all tended to bring into line and to render more humane and sensible the conditions and hours of employment for lads of all ages in workplaces, as well as on the stage, in the streets, on board ship, and at home. The labour of very young children in any capacity is gradually becoming a thing of the past, and the half-time system itself is in all likelihood nearing its end. Mr. Trevelyan's Interdepartmental Committee has reported unanimously against it; the London County Council and other important Education Authorities have already ruled it out, and in many parts of the country it is practically a dead letter, only remaining extensively in force in the textile districts of the North.

Elsewhere fourteen, the school leaving age, is the one at which most boys take up industrial work, and though occupiers of factories may contend that such is too late an age for a child to commence to familiarise itself with some of the more delicate and intricate operations at which in the old days children, being accustomed to the work almost from the cradle, became incredibly adept and quick, and though parents may urge the advantage to the home of young wage-earners in times of family distress, still there is likely to be no suggestion of returning

to the days when it was true and necessary to plead :—

“ And the young, young children, oh ! my brothers,
 They are weeping bitterly,
 They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
 In the country of the free.”

2. HOURS OF WORK.

The hours of half-timers have been spoken of above ; they are roughly one-half of those which are allowed to young people and adult females. With a few unimportant exceptions the hours of men—who may be held to be economically strong enough to make their own bargains—are unrestricted. To boys under eighteen, however, this freedom is, in their own interests, denied. Their legal hours are, in textile (and a few other) factories, from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. or from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. on ordinary days, with two hours off for meals, one of these two hours being given before 3 p.m. On Saturdays employment may begin at 6 a.m. and end at noon for manufacturing processes and at 12.30 for other purposes, if one hour be given for meals, while if less than an hour be allowed for meals, employment must cease at 11.30 for manufacturing processes and at noon for all other purposes. If, however, employment commenced at 7 a.m., work in manufacturing processes must end at 12.30 and all other operations at one o'clock. With certain exceptions work cannot be carried on for more than four and a half hours without an interval for meals of at least half an hour.

These textile hours may appear somewhat complicated. Those in force in non-textile factories and in workshops are very simple. They allow

a choice between employment from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., from 7 to 7, or from 8 to 8 on ordinary days, and from 6 to 2, from 7 to 3, or from 8 to 4 on the weekly short day. Meal times aggregating one and a half hours have to be allowed on ordinary days, at least one hour being given before 3 p.m., with half an hour on the short day. Periods of work of longer duration than five hours without half an hour for meals are not permitted.

Sunday employment is illegal, but here, as elsewhere, certain exceptions are made in favour of the requirements of special trades or the religious customs of the workpeople and masters.

These exceptions are numerous. Those of most interest among those which concern boys, are—

(a) Occupiers of the Jewish religion may employ lads of the same belief on Sunday on condition that the premises in which they are to work be kept closed on Saturday. (Certain further elasticity is allowed to Jews in this matter.)

(b) Subject to various prescribed conditions, boys of fourteen may be employed at night (between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m.) in glassworks and in certain other industries where it is necessary to carry on operations without cessation. In some of these cases lads may not be engaged until they reach sixteen years of age.

(c) In the case of a few trades, where it has been proved to be necessary or desirable, employment may be from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m., with certain accompanying limitations.

(d) Elasticity in the arrangement of hours is permissible for lads over sixteen in lace factories and bakehouses, subject to certain con-

ditions which guard against possibilities of over-work.

(*e*) Among articles of a perishable nature, fish, fruit, and cream may be handled, in certain circumstances, outside ordinary hours, in order to prevent waste.

(*f*) In a few specified trades incomplete processes may be continued by lads for a further period of thirty minutes, at the end of ordinary legal hours—except on the weekly short day—provided that the weekly maximum of hours be not exceeded.

The period of employment is further regulated by the annual holiday clauses, which provide for six full-day holidays every year in all factories and workshops. Certain days are named in the Statute (Bank Holidays in England), but other days, or half-days, may be given in lieu of them.

There is one other clause which limits the hours of work, namely, that which forbids the employment on the occupier's business beyond ordinary factory hours for children (aged twelve and thirteen) both inside and outside any factory or workshop on the same day, while also disallowing such employment outside for young persons (ages fourteen to eighteen) if they were employed inside both before and after the dinner-hour. The object of this section is, of course, to prevent work being taken home at the end of the day.

Sundry other provisions of less note affect the hours of work for lads, notably in the direction of rendering more easy the detection of breaches of the law, but it is probably unnecessary here further to elaborate this branch of the Acts.

3. DANGEROUS AND UNHEALTHY INDUSTRIES.

There is a number of dangerous and unhealthy industries from which it has been held to be wise to exclude young persons altogether. Where it is necessary, in the course of manufacture, for operations to be carried on in a manner which is dangerous to life or detrimental to health, such operations are for the most part confined to the sphere of adult male workmen. They may be supposed to be both more careful to avoid risks and less susceptible to unhealthy influences than are young and growing lads, and also more likely to be willingly exposing themselves to risks, than would be the case with boys who might very possibly be put to injurious tasks by others, without themselves either knowing or appreciating the dangers to be faced.

The principal industries, or portions thereof, from which boys of various ages are entirely excluded by law are as follows:—

Lads under eighteen may not be employed in the part of a factory or workshop in which there is carried on—

(a) The process of silvering mirrors by the mercurial process.

(b) That of making white lead; and those under fourteen are likewise excluded from parts in which the melting or annealing of glass is performed, or where any dry grinding in the metal trade or the dipping of lucifer matches is done.

The lads are thus prevented by statutory enactment from being employed in those occupations in which there is risk of becoming poisoned or sustaining other injury. As a matter of fact the process of silvering mirrors by means of mercury has practically disappeared, but while it

was still in vogue cases of mercurial poisoning were not unknown. The chief symptoms are increased salivation, affection of the teeth and the well-known muscular tremor. Mercury is still used to a considerable extent in other trades, and workers should pay special attention to cleanliness and the use of a suitable mouth wash.

The dangers of lead-poisoning are well known, and the statement that the greatest care is called for in the suppression of dust and in the matter of personal cleanliness needs little amplification. The wisdom of the State in forbidding the employment of young people in white-lead rooms is readily appreciated, when we remember how many cases of poisoning occur each year among men engaged in such places. Sir Thomas Oliver, in his standard work upon "The Diseases of Occupation," points out that "lead exerts its malign influence with a rapidity and severity greater in young persons than in old," and that "young adults especially are quickly brought under its sway."

In addition to these statutory requirements there are in force a number of Orders issued by different Home Secretaries and prescribing regulations or special rules for such trades as have been found to be specially perilous. Certain of these orders have the effect of preventing the employment of young persons in possibly injurious tasks. In most instances the intention is to protect the boys' health, as in the case of the "Paints and Colours Regulations," where lads under eighteen are prohibited from being employed in the manipulation of dangerous compounds of lead, or that of the horse-hair code, by which persons under eighteen are not allowed to be employed upon certain kinds of hair prior to its disinfection. In the first case the danger

guarded against is lead-poisoning, which has been spoken of above. In the second it is anthrax, which has been defined as "a fatal disease affecting certain animals, which may be conveyed from them to man by the handling of wool or hairs from animals which have died of the disease." In further cases the object of regulations for dangerous trades is to safeguard the limbs both of young workers and of their fellow-workmen by such clauses, for instance, as those which forbid the employment of a lad under sixteen as a crane-driver at the docks, or of one under eighteen at work on a capstan worked by mechanical power for drawing wagons in sidings upon industrial premises.

Such are a few examples of the useful rules which serve to keep male young persons from the more dangerous forms of employment.

4. HEALTH AND SAFETY.

There remain the varied and innumerable industrial occupations from which young persons are not excluded by law. In an infinity of different modes of work boy labour, skilled and unskilled, has come to be looked upon as the necessary handmaid to the efforts of adults ;¹ and in almost every class of workshop, outside the few trades which, like dressmaking and millinery, lie essentially in the domain of womanhood, boys are found in considerable numbers. We have now to discuss the provisions of the law which regulate the conditions of their employment. The legal hours of work have been explained above. Apart from them the main sections of the 1901 Act, so far as they concern

¹ Over five hundred thousand male persons under eighteen were employed in factories and workshops in 1907.

boy labour, deal principally with (*a*) health, (*b*) safety, (*c*) "truck" and payment of wages. The law as it falls under these three heads may be briefly summarised as follows:—

(*a*) HEALTH.—Every factory except a domestic factory (a private workplace in which the only persons employed are members of the same family dwelling there) and every workshop must be kept in a cleanly state; free from effluvia arising from drains, closets, &c.; suitably ventilated, by aid of a fan if necessary; and at a reasonable temperature, by means which shall not interfere with the purity of the air. The workrooms must not be overcrowded, in ordinary circumstances 250 cubic feet being required for each persons employed. Suitable and sufficient sanitary accommodation has to be provided. In humidified cotton cloth factories cloak-rooms have also to be supplied, and in the case of a number of industries which necessitate the handling of poisonous substances or the presence of dangerous fumes, separate meal-rooms, cloak-rooms, or baths and other washing facilities are called for. Floors have to be drained if the processes carried on are of such a character as to render this necessary. Where wet spinning is performed lads under eighteen may not be employed unless sufficient means are maintained for protecting them from being wetted or the atmosphere from being impregnated with steam; while in all humid factories various steps have to be taken to regulate and minimise the amount of moisture present in the air.

In the case of factories thorough lime-washing of the premises is requisite once at least in every fourteen months, or if the walls and ceilings are painted with oil or varnished once every seven

years, periodical washing with soap and hot water may be substituted for the lime-washing.

Lads are prohibited from taking meals in a number of specified classes of workroom in which the partaking of food has been held to be specially injurious to health, and particularly where dust or dry powder is used or where noxious fumes are given off in the course of manufacture (fur pulling, rag grinding, glass mixing, catgut cleaning, bone polishing, &c.).

It is by such means as these that the health of young factory hands is safeguarded ; but there is also another way in which attempts are made to secure a high level of physical fitness among them. This takes the form of requiring that all lads under sixteen years of age who enter upon service in any factories or in workshops of certain scheduled kinds shall prove their age, undergo medical examination, and obtain certificates of fitness from appointed surgeons, before they may legally be employed for a longer period than a few days of preliminary trial. A deformed, unhealthy, or otherwise unfit youth is thus prevented from undertaking work which is for any reason unsuitable, his own health being thereby protected from injury and that of his fellow-workers from infection. The certifying surgeons are, moreover, empowered to stipulate that their certificates of fitness are only granted upon certain stated conditions, which may entail limitations in various ways.¹ They may, for instance, certify a short-sighted or weakly boy as only fit for tasks which are not "close" or trying to the eyes or which do not involve any con-

¹ A suggestion has been made that it might be wise to co-ordinate the work of these surgeons with that of school medical officers, so as to secure continuity of treatment.

siderable muscular strain, and H.M. Inspectors of Factories are naturally careful to see that such conditions are strictly complied with. These officers have further to secure compliance with another Act which also relates to the physical condition of children in factories—namely, the Employment of Children Act, which, among other things, forbids the carrying of weights which are excessive, or employment in any occupation likely to be injurious to life, limb, health, or education.

(*b*) SAFETY.—The main requirement here is that all dangerous machinery must be securely fenced, or be placed in such a position or constructed in such a manner as to render it equally safe to every person employed or working on the premises. The ideal is, of course, to render accidents impossible. Machines which are likely to cause injury are not the only ones that require guarding, it being also necessary in the case of those which *might* inflict it. Many operations entailed by modern rapid conditions of manufacture upon complicated machinery are necessarily dangerous. All possible steps have to be taken by occupiers of factories to minimise that danger, and young boys should either be kept from operations involving risk to life and limb or should at least be most carefully instructed, before commencing work, regarding any possible danger and the available means of guarding against it. Boys fresh from school, and unaccustomed to the confinement and routine of factory life, are naturally apt to be somewhat inattentive and sometimes quite unaccountably careless, and it is well to arrange that some responsible person be instructed to see that the young workers make full use of the guards and other means of protection which are provided.

Many a preventable accident has been directly traced to the neglect of such precautions by the operatives. Cynics may argue that lads who prefer, let us say, to print without a platen guard, to fill mineral-water bottles under pressure without wire masks and woollen gauntlets, or who fail to make full use of the many ingenious devices which have been constructed for their special protection, may almost be said to deserve the severe accident that is likely to befall them sooner or later; but still it must be borne in mind that they are young and probably untrained, and that to learn through instruction is often better than to be taught by painful experience.

Besides requiring adequate fencing for dangerous machines, the law strives to protect the workers in another way, by means of prohibitory clauses. It is specially laid down, for example, that young persons must not be allowed to work between the fixed and traversing part of any self-acting machine while the latter is in motion by mechanical power, or to clean dangerous (or if under fourteen any) machinery so in motion; and, again, that no one under twenty-one may undertake any repair, cleaning, or other work where technical knowledge or experience is required in order to avoid danger from electric shock.

Science, too, is continually stepping in to render assistance in guarding against particular dangers. To enumerate all the types of work for which special forms of protection have been prescribed would be impossible. Risk of injury from fire, from falling bodies and moving trollies, from lifts and spinning-mules, explosion and electric shock—all this and much more has been guarded against by a gradually developed system of regulation for specific causes of danger, which

are now met by scientific methods of prevention in factory and workshop, dock, warehouse and laundry.

As new types of work are formulated with their own attendant dangers fresh means of protection will doubtless be devised as well. Meantime it rests with factory occupiers who have young lives in their care to see that so far as is reasonably practicable adequate safeguards are provided; while on their side the least that operatives can do is to exercise a due amount of forethought and attention, and to make full use of the protection afforded them.

One development of modern industrial conditions is seen in the increase of work for which payment is made by the "piece," and piece-workers are sometimes tempted to neglect the use of guards which they think check the speed of their output. This consideration, however, fortunately does not materially affect male young people, who usually receive payment by "time."

The fact that they do so, moreover, renders a portion of the next succeeding paragraphs largely inapplicable to them, but as piece-work prices are not uncommonly paid to lads in a few industries, it is necessary to insert a short description of the law controlling such payment.

(c) "TRUCK" AND PAYMENT OF WAGES.—The principle underlying both the Truck Acts and the Statutory Orders regulating the payment of wages to piece-workers is in effect an effort to ensure that the worker shall receive full value for his labour, according to his specified or implied terms of contract for service. For this purpose it has been rendered compulsory to pay wages in cash. Payment in kind, or in orders

upon a "tommy" shop which was often owned by the employer, was from early times very common in this country, and while it was always possible that a workman might by this means obtain the full value of his nominal wages, it was also conceivable that he was being defrauded without means of proof or redress.

A series of Acts gradually put a stop to such payment, and at the same time reduced to a reasonable basis the practice of inflicting fines for unpunctuality, spoiled work or other offences, and also that of enforcing payment from workers for the use of tools, material, light or other accommodation.

A further step has since been taken in the direction of seeing that piece-workers are aware, before they commence their tasks, exactly what price they are to receive for them. This is secured by requiring that particulars in writing be given both to home workers and to factory hands, prior to the performance of the work, and that the conditions thereby agreed upon are strictly adhered to. So far this provision relates only to workers in certain scheduled trades (matchboxes, boots, "carding," wholesale tailoring, chain making, &c.), but it is a satisfaction to think that it helps to ensure that the workers in some of the most notoriously sweated industries shall at least receive the full, if small, sum which they have been led to expect.

Further than this, yet another road of economic advance has lately been opened up in the direction of "fair wages" by the clauses bearing that name which are now inserted in certain Government contracts, and by the action of the Board of Trade Wages Boards, and that of those numerous employers who voluntarily pay all their hands at full trade union rates.

CONCLUSION.

Such, then, is a brief sketch of the main sections of the law which regulates the employment of young male workers in the factories of this country. The effect of that law has been to solve the problem once so acute of how to safeguard the interests of those workers who were in need of protection, without at the same time injuring the best interests of the country's industry and commerce. This problem exists no longer, and the questions that remain concern matters of detail only. Compared with the great questions of principle which confronted statesmen and philanthropists in the early days of the Factory Acts, they are simple indeed. Shall child labour, already strictly limited, be entirely abolished? Shall night work, now only permitted to lads in certain necessitously situated industries, be altogether prohibited? Shall still further classes of quasi-industrial premises be brought within the scope of the Acts? Such are the queries which suggest the line of possible future development.

Further, in solving the great initial problem of how to inaugurate beneficial State interference which shall not carry with it attendant evils, the Factory Acts have succeeded, probably even beyond the hopes of their authors, in rendering the life of the normal factory lad safe, healthy, and even enjoyable. Perilous tasks, unwholesome surroundings, and intolerably long hours are now rare exceptions. Boys are continually witnessing to the care that is taken of their interests by their masters, to the kindness of their foremen, or to the pleasure of doing work in warm, clean and cheerfully lighted work-rooms. Many a lad visited in his home, or in

hospital after an accident, or found in a working-boys' club, has assured me of the happiness of his factory life. Regrettable exceptions there, of course, are and such there will probably always be. But they are small evils indeed compared with the old abuses which are gone for ever. And this is completely satisfactory. For nowhere have the pessimists of pre-Shaftesburian days been more abundantly falsified than in the domain of boy labour. Those who contended that the shortening of hours and the standardising of conditions of work must inevitably work ruin to the country's industry, to the employees themselves, and to their dependants and the public, have been completely answered by the passage of time, which has shown that work done in reasonable comfort and warmth, by healthy and contented people, is infinitely more productive than is the sweated labour of an overstrained and spiritless drudge. It has been found that there is an age below which it is too early to enter the dull monotony of a lifelong job and to begin to take existence seriously as a family wage-earner, and that a well-educated, healthy young person is a national asset which was certainly not the usual development from the factory child of ante-hygienic days. Psychology and physics are agreed that long spells of monotonous work are highly detrimental to the due development of both the mind and body of a growing child, in the early plastic stages, even where neither the muscular nor the mental strain is excessive.

Moreover, having seen so much done to promote the physical and educational well-being of the youths of the wage-earning class, it may perhaps be permissible to look forward to a possible development in the direction of assisting them in their economic career also, in other

spheres besides that of industrial indemnity. There are many lads who are either not fortunate or not wise enough to place themselves in a position to learn even such lessons as the small office or the "unskilled" factory have to offer; while side by side with the thousands who are being regularly instructed in a useful trade there are many who, even should they enter workshop life, are there employed as little more than "hewers of wood and drawers of water," and are often literally mere carriers and sweepers. Such work stands clearly many rungs higher upon the industrial ladder than do the proverbial blind-alley and undisciplined employments of the van-boy, the street seller, or the hobby horse lad; but though there is always a chance, and perhaps a good one, for a factory lad to be taken on later in an adult's permanent capacity, still there are in practice, year by year, no small number of youths who, when the time has come for their places to be taken by younger and cheaper labour, find themselves at the end of a brief period of useful if uneducative industrial life, flung on to the overstocked unskilled market, and stranded without a trade, the handiwork of the man who has been well styled the prince of parasites, "who without imparting any adequate instruction in a skilled craft, gets his business done by boys or girls who live at home with their parents and work practically for pocket-money." ¹

In the meantime the routine enforcement of the Factory Acts goes on, in conjunction with their gradual development as new needs become apparent or further useful provisions appear to be practicable. And if any one be led to doubt

¹ "The Case for the Factory Acts," p. 23.

the wisdom and value of such activities, let him remember that nowhere is there more truth in the dictum that the country's youth are the trustees of her future prosperity, than there is in the sphere of boy labour in our workshops, where the future manhood of the nation is concerned as well as the industrial efficiency and productive power of the country.

VI

THE BOY CRIMINAL

BY J. M. MYERS

To a very large extent the problem of the boy criminal is the problem of crime in this country. We are beginning to realise in this, as in so many other things, that acts committed or omitted in the early years of life, and influences brought to bear for good or evil during childhood and adolescence, have their effects in after life, and may make or mar the character of each individual so affected. When it is stated that the number of prisoners whose first offence was committed when under twenty-one years of age represents between 40 and 50 per cent. of the total number convicted, it will be apparent that it is in the years of adolescence that the seeds of crime are in a large measure sown. Penologists and, indeed, all those interested in reducing to a minimum the mass of human waste which is now permitted to gather under our present social system must look to this period for an alleviation, if not a solution, of the problem.

There are three classes to be dealt with: "children" (*i.e.*, those up to fourteen years of age), "young persons" (*i.e.*, between fourteen

and sixteen), and "juvenile adults" (*i.e.*, between sixteen and twenty-one).¹

"CHILDREN."

The Children Act, 1908, has finally put an end to the barbarous system by which children might be sent to prison, and the Act wisely provides that a "young person" may not be sent to prison unless he be of such an unruly character that he cannot be sent to a place of detention as provided by the Act. There were 511 children under sixteen and four children under twelve imprisoned in the year 1908-9 in England and Wales. These figures, it is now hoped, will disappear from the records of the Prison Commissioners, for, as the Commissioners observed as long ago as 1837,

"the present system may be compared to the economy which works a steam engine to crush a fly. A too common use of the processes of our criminal courts tend much to a prostitution of the dignity of the law . . . the juvenile offender comes out of prison much worse in character than when he entered it."

But it will be said "boys under fourteen will still continue to commit offences against the law and others will be neglected by their parents, and thus be brought under the ægis of the magistrate—what is to be done with them?" In the first place, much may be hoped for from the estab-

¹ There is some confusion with regard to these terms, and "young persons" is now used for persons between sixteen and twenty-one under the Prevention of Crime Act, 1908. The Children Act (Section 131), however, defines the first two classes as stated, and it has been thought desirable to retain the distinction here made.

ishment of the Children's Courts sanctioned by the Children Act. The little chap who is neglected by drunken parents, or the "bold, bad villain" of twelve who pilfers from stalls in the streets, is not a criminal and should not be treated as such. The system by which these children have been in the past brought into contact with the unsavoury atmosphere of the police-court is, it is hoped, shortly to cease.

The writer has had some experience of many of the London police-courts, and he states emphatically and unhesitatingly that many of the Metropolitan stipendiary magistrates have, by neglect or misuse of the powers entrusted to them by Parliament and the Home Secretary, wrecked the lives of hundreds of children who have been brought before them. The Industrial School Acts, now wisely strengthened by the Children Act, have given power to the magistrates to commit children to Industrial Schools or reformatories, and there is little doubt that, where the home is bad, through the evil character or neglect of the parents, or where the child is apparently incorrigible without the exercise of some continuous discipline, life in an institution where physique and character can be built up will make all the difference to the future of the child so sent. Where the home is good, and the parents can and do exercise control, the case can often be met by binding the child over under the care of a probation officer. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred either of these steps, taken when the first offence has been committed or before the evil influences of the home have had too marked an effect on the children, will check the evil propensities which have been discovered. "A stitch in time saves nine" runs the homely adage; nowhere is the maxim truer

than in dealing with the psychology of child life. Treated with sympathy and understanding and tact, there are few youngsters who cannot be brought to grow into decent law-abiding citizens. The framers of the Acts of Parliament dealing with children have no doubt realised this, and it is a lamentable fact that those who have been appointed and paid to administer to them have in so marked a degree failed to interpret their spirit.

Two examples will illustrate this statement. During the last few years it has fallen to the lot of the writer to deal with many cases of children who lived in neglected homes or had committed serious offences in two large schools of which he is manager in one of the poorest parts of London. Some time ago he endeavoured to deal with no fewer than twenty-five boys who had formed themselves into little gangs for the purpose of stealing. One of these gangs consisted of three brothers and another boy. The brothers were the sons of a thriftless drunkard who shamefully neglected his children (a daughter also was a thief); the boys often stopped out all night; they were bootless and nearly always in rags. After much trouble one of the persons from whom articles had been stolen agreed to prosecute, and the boys were eventually brought before the magistrate. The whole of the facts were placed before him by the head teacher of the school and the school attendance officer as well as by the writer, but the magistrate stated that he was not going to "put a whole family on the rates"; he discharged the two younger boys and gave the eldest a birching.

In the first place, it is contended that police-court magistrates have nothing to do with

“ rates ” at all. Their duty is to administer the law. Presumably those who established Industrial Schools and prescribed the type of child who should be sent to them intended that they should be paid for, and used for the purposes for which they were established. The magistrate to whom reference has been made by his action, or rather inaction, has done much to manufacture three criminals; and so far from saving the rates, the country will probably be mulcted in a considerable amount for the future care of these boys. They commenced stealing again immediately they were discharged, they have since played truant more often than they have attended school, and the only hope for them is that they may commit offences so serious that the magistrate will have no option but to send them to a reformatory. To discharge the three boys (for the eldest did not consider his birching as a serious matter—he had often been caned at school) was a wrong course.

It was brought to the writer's notice some time ago that the parents of two families of children attending the schools of which he is manager were brothel-keepers. After fruitless endeavours to induce the London County Council Authorities, rescue societies, and police to take up the cases the writer himself had the children brought before the magistrate. In the one case, a particularly bad one, where there were girls of thirteen and eleven whom it was most important to rescue from their evil environment, of which they were fully aware, the magistrate (not the one mentioned in the preceding paragraph) stated that he would refuse to put the public to the expense of maintaining a large number of children whose welfare it was the duty and responsibility of the parents to superin-

tend, and he dismissed the case. In the other case the mother herself was in prison for the offence above mentioned, and the children were meanwhile neglected; the magistrate could, therefore, hardly refuse to deal with the children, and they were sent to Industrial Schools. But he gave the Superintendent of Police to understand—and this hint was conveyed to the writer—that he would not deal with many such cases in future.

Such cases (and they are by no means isolated or few in number) should be impossible if the Children's Courts are administered with wisdom and sympathy. Magistrates, hardened by constantly dealing with the flotsam and jetsam of humanity, cannot be expected to treat the cases of the children brought before them with that care and individual attention which is absolutely essential. The magistrate of the Children's Courts should, if possible, be a man both with a love and a knowledge of children and child-life. Upon him will largely depend the future growth of the tender plants brought before him. It is he who must decide whether they shall be uprooted from the foul soil and noxious weeds which have hitherto impeded their growth, and whether they shall be entrusted to the care of persons with a knowledge of the garden of life, and of the precious things that grow there. He must not appear to the child as a terrible person speaking from a distance in solemn tones and difficult words, but as a kindly gentleman who does not so much want to punish him as to make him better. Unless the character of the boy is so good, or the offence with which he is charged so trivial, that there is little doubt as to his future good behaviour, it should be the exception rather than the rule for the magistrate

to discharge him. *C'est le premier pas qui coûte*, and superintendence by a probation officer in those cases where it is not necessary to send the offender to an Industrial School should do a great deal to insure that the boy's future career is all that it should be. It is to be hoped that there will be attached to each Children's Court a "chief probation officer" who will have a special knowledge of child problems, will advise the magistrate with regard to cases brought before him, and have working under him a number of voluntary and, if necessary, paid officers. To this subject reference is made below.

To sum up, then: imprisonment for children is to be at an end. But this by no means implies that nothing is to be done with the children who have hitherto been brought before the courts. On the contrary, probably more care must be taken with these embryo criminals or potential useful citizens (for they can be moulded in most cases into either) than with any other class of offenders. The sympathetic special children's magistrates, who it is earnestly to be hoped will be appointed to the Children's Courts, will not hesitate to interpret the spirit of the Children Act, and in suitable cases rescue the children from their evil environment or undesirable companions, and permit them to receive the healthy, moral, and physical education which is given in the Industrial Schools. On the other hand, no child will be dismissed from the court without an arrangement by which its future career will be watched and cared for. Each child must be treated as a separate human life brought up under different conditions and needing individual treatment, capable of usefulness or evil according as the administrators of the law of the land use their powers wisely or ill.

“ YOUNG PERSONS.”

Much of what has been said with regard to children under fourteen applies to this class also. They, too, will be brought before the children's magistrate. It is a matter of common knowledge that among a very large number of working-class families, so soon as a boy has left the Elementary School, and the restraint and discipline which have been exercised over him there have been removed, he ceases to allow himself to be subjected to parental control. If he does not find work soon after he leaves school, he may be turned out of home or, as likely as not, may prefer the casual work of touting for parcels at railway stations, or selling newspapers in the street, to the more settled, monotonous routine of factory or workshop. Economic necessity may compel him to “sleep out” or beg, and he may be charged with one of these offences. Or he may be prosecuted for “railway trespass” or “obstruction.”

In the street or round the station or in the low-class lodging-house, where he will probably resort, he will meet with evil companions who are “old hands”; it is then that he commences to slide down the slippery slope which leads to criminal paths. Under present conditions, on his first appearance at the court the boy will probably be discharged with a caution; for the second offence he will be given seven days. The folly of these short sentences is referred to below. But the first step is almost as wrong as the second, if, indeed, it is not more so; for the boy who is charged with “sleeping out” or begging or touting for parcels at a railway station is, in most cases, not the least vicious or criminal. What he needs is a helping hand

and work, food, and lodging—to discharge him and throw him again on his own resources is to send him back to the evils and temptations of the streets and common lodging-houses.

The police, though often really kind and considerate to these lads, too often act unwisely in their interests. For they will seldom arrest a boy when he has *started* committing the offence with which he is finally charged, but will let him have his “fling,” as it were, for some time. But, again, procrastination may make all the difference in the boy’s career. Once he has got used to loafing it is very difficult to break him of it. Most boys of the class to which reference has been made get into trouble through company with “old hands.” If they could be rescued in time—and this could be done if the police would prosecute as early as possible—the evil influences now received would not become so intense, and it would be far easier to put the boy in the way of becoming a useful member of society. A boy who lives in a good home and who has stolen of deliberate intent and not as the result of momentary need or passion, should no doubt in many cases be sent to the “place of detention” provided by the Children Act, or in really bad cases to a reformatory. But a wise exercise of the system of probation should cover a majority of the boys between fourteen and sixteen who have hitherto appeared before the courts. Those of the class to which reference has been made are not criminals in any sense of the term, though many magistrates have done much to create criminals of them.

“JUVENILE ADULTS.”

The only serious attempt made during recent years to aim at the reformation of lads between

the ages of sixteen and twenty-one has been by what is known as the Borstal System. It was described by the present Commissioners in 1905 as

“ the application of a special set of rules, differing from ordinary prison rules, to young persons between sixteen and twenty-one ; a system of hard work, strict discipline, tempered by contrivances of reward, encouragement, and hope ; and resting, in the ultimate degree, upon means of rehabilitation to honest life.”

The Commissioners said that the further development of this work is necessary “ if a real and serious effort is to be made to deal with on rational lines, and, if possible, to reclaim, at least a percentage of those 16,000 lads of this age who passed through our prisons last year.” They point out that these boys are mostly young thieves, and they go on to say :—

“ As it is well known, it is these offences which dominate the statistics of serious or indictable crime, and it is a sad and significant fact that 40 per cent. of these particular offences are committed by young persons under the age of twenty-one. This, then, we regard as the great field for prison labour and reform. If we can check this particular offence at its beginning before the criminal habit is formed, we shall slowly, and by degrees, be making some impression on the mass of professional crime, or what is technically called ‘ recidivism,’ which is the bane, and the puzzle, and the social problem of this as of all other civilised countries.”

Lads whose sentences reach twelve months are selected from throughout the country for treatment at Borstal. Each lad is put to some trade which may be useful to him after leaving the

prison, and good food, physical exercises, strict discipline, and general education have done much to reclaim many a lad who might otherwise have become hardened to a criminal career. In their last Report ¹ (1908-9) the Prison Commissioners remarked :—

“ Though the Borstal Association has only been in existence for a few years, it has, we think, established its claim to be considered a model Aid Society to whom public gratitude is due, for the example furnished in their annual reports of what good results can be reached in the after-care of discharged prisoners, dealt with on principles of which the method is as precise as the humanity which suggests it is inspiring. They say themselves of the material they deal with : ‘ For the most part they enter Borstal in an unpromising condition of mind and body, lumpy, slack, sometimes defiant, generally out of condition, and, as a whole, below the average of physique and intelligence of their class. They come out healthy, well set-up, improved in manner, and, in the great majority of cases, anxious to show that they can work honestly and hard.’ ”

At Borstal and Feltham (which has also been opened as a “ Borstal Institution ”) every effort is being made to secure suitable employment for the lads when leaving prison, and endeavours are made to keep in touch with them. In 1908-9, of the 265 cases dealt with by the Borstal Association, 157 are reported as doing well, 20 more as being either at sea or abroad and believed to be doing well, 18 were lost sight of, and 41 were re-convicted, “ some because they insisted on returning to a bad home and

¹ Since this chapter was written a further Report of the Prison Commissioners has been published, but the later figures and conclusions of the Commissioners do not alter in any way the inferences here made.

bad companions, others because they would not work, and a few because they could not refrain from theft even where no pressure of need urged them." The year's work showed that some 60 or 70 per cent. of the lads discharged were doing well.

Such excellent work as has been achieved by the Borstal Association has only been possible when the period of imprisonment was sufficiently lengthy. The wickedness of short sentences to lads coming within the class now being dealt with is acknowledged on all hands. If the aim is to protect society, the reverse effect is brought about, for the prisoner invariably comes out of prison more a criminal than he was when he entered it. The aim can scarcely be to "reform" the offender, for no argument is needed to show that contact with prison life contaminates and debases those who undergo it. And yet men of presumed intelligence and wide knowledge of human nature continue the process of manufacturing at least half the nation's criminals by the stupidity of their action in this respect.

To assist in making a criminal out of a boy who plays football in the streets is a responsibility which few persons apart from stipendiary magistrates would care to undertake.

"Imprisonment for a week or a fortnight might not in many cases seem a very unjust or a very harsh punishment, *if that were all*. The pity of it is that it is *not* all. 'Seven days!' says the magistrate, and a malignant spirit of the future may echo grim and cynical, 'Seven days *and* a criminal career!' For very often the first sentence has the effect of a declaration of war by the community on the offender. He is filled with resentment at what he considers the wrong done him, he feels that he has been humbugged, that after all *might is right*, that it is justifiable to meet might

with craft ; and taking up the gage of battle, he becomes a bitter enemy to authority.”¹

The writer remembers a case of two boys, aged sixteen and seventeen respectively, one of whom was brought before the magistrate for the first time, the other having received seven days' imprisonment some little time previously. They were both charged with theft, and the magistrate, in sentencing the first lad to one month's imprisonment and the other to seven days, announced that he proposed to “put the fear of God into their eyes.” These lads are now launched safely on a criminal career.

The futility of these short sentences is emphasised in many of the Reports of governors and chaplains published in the last Report of the Prison Commissioners. Thus the chaplain at Manchester remarks :—

“The material here is in most cases very poor—loungers round railway stations, newsboys, parcel carriers, &c., never brought up to a trade, promptly turned out of home if they fall out of work ; again I say the material to work upon has been very poor. It seems a pity to send young lads to prison for ‘gaming,’ playing football in the street, and such like similar offences. . . . Sending lads to prison for a few days for such offences tends (1) to make them careless to the shame of imprisonment ; (2) makes them callous about greater offences ; and (3) makes them heroes in the sight of their ‘pals’ when they return jauntily home.”

In Birmingham of the 320 juvenile-adults who were sentenced to one month and under no fewer than forty-five were re-convicted, “thus confirming” (as the chaplain remarks) “what has become axiomatic—viz., the comparative fruit-

¹ “The making of the Criminal,” by Russell and Rigby, p. 66.

lessness and mischievousness of short sentences. The effect of such sentences is not infrequently to elevate these youths into the position of heroes among their comrades. . . . If only the gap from sixteen to twenty-one years of age could be filled up by moral and industrial training, nearly all the lads that are going to waste could be built up into men of healthy body and mind, and their future could be saved. . . . Until something 'big' is done, I am afraid that the prisons will be loaded with what for the time being is mere social waste."

Durham Prison received no fewer than 709 juvenile-adults who were sentenced to one month and under for what the governor describes as "very trivial offences."¹ The chaplain illustrates the general proposition laid down that these lads are in most cases the victims of circumstances and environment and not criminals in the true acceptance of the term. He remarks :—

"Many of them are greatly to be pitied as circumstances have been greatly against them. Some are homeless, others have disreputable homes, some have drunken parents, others parents sunk in immorality, and having no home comforts they drift into common lodging-houses, and become associates of thieves. Very few have knowledge of any trade. They spend their time picking odd jobs about the docks, works, and streets, and are surrounded by many temptations. A great number of thieving cases consist of stealing iron from the scrap-heaps, timber from the docks, and coal from the staiths, and *these offences are often committed under a mistaken idea that the acts are not criminal.*"

"If they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?"

¹ There has been a substantial decrease in the number of these lads at Durham since this report was made.

The Governor of Lancaster Prison is equally emphatic :—

“ It is found in practice that for such youths short sentences are not only ineffective, but may possibly be harmful. They become familiar with the inside of a prison ; it ceases to have any deterrent effect upon them, and it is nearly impossible to achieve any marked degree of success in eradicating habits formed in the course of years of idle and aimless existence.”

In Liverpool there were 986 youths sentenced to one month and under.

The Governor of Newcastle Prison reports that 146 short-sentenced juvenile-adults were dealt with last year, no fewer than eighty-seven of whom had sentences of a week and under. He remarks :—

“ I can only repeat that such short sentences afford little opportunity for acquiring habits of industry which they so much need, or of making any lasting impression upon them.”

There is, then, general agreement that so far from either protecting society, or benefiting the individual, short sentences to these lads has in most cases a decidedly evil effect which it is difficult to eradicate. This consensus of opinion merely echoes the remarks made by the Inspectors of Prisons in their Report of as long ago as 1837 :—

“ We are of opinion that but little, if any, permanent benefit will be produced if the boys are committed to prison for short periods. . . . Short periods of imprisonment, however frequently they may be repeated, produce no regenerating and lasting effect upon the mind and character.”

Wisdom in these matters is not only of the present generation. The world, indeed, progresses slowly.

So much by way of destructive criticism. What should be done for the future? Offenders between sixteen and twenty-one fall roughly into two classes. They may be boys whose frequent offences, association with evil companions, and thriftless life in the streets has so far deteriorated them morally and physically that a continuous training under discipline for a more or less lengthy period is absolutely necessary for their reformation. But there are also boys who have either committed petty larceny as the result of a sudden temptation or have been charged with "sleeping out," begging, or such like offences, without having had their moral character warped or their physique injured in the same way as the first class. For the latter the Probation of Offenders Act should be employed in almost every case in the matter mentioned below. For the former, treatment on the lines found so successful by the Borstal Association should be given, and the offenders confined to the institution to be established under the Prevention of Crime Act, 1908, for a sufficient period in which to provide a training which will do much to remove the previous evil effects experienced by the offenders, and fit them in every way for a new start in life. This very important new departure has been dealt with in the Report of the Prison Commissioners for 1908-9 so clearly that their remarks in this regard are here reproduced in full:—

For the reformation of young offenders a new form of sentence and a new type of Institution have been established. The sentence passed by the court will be detention under penal discipline in

a Borstal Institution for a term of not less than one year and no more than three years, and the persons liable to such detention will be between the ages of 16 and 21, who, by reason of criminal habit or tendency, it is expedient to detain for lengthened periods under such instruction and discipline as appear most conducive to reformation and repression of crime. The Act is the formal embodiment in the penal law of this country of all those conclusions which experience of the working of the Borstal System during the last ten years has suggested. Experience gained during this period may be said to be conclusive in establishing the following points :—

1. That ordinary detention in prison, and especially when the population is large, as in the prisons of the Metropolis, cannot, even with the greatest care and the best possible arrangements, allow of that specialisation and individual attention which is essential if a real impression is to be made on the younger criminals. Moreover, the ordinary Aid Society of the prison is not able, from the numerous demands made upon it by all classes of prisoners, to give that particular attention to the case at the time of discharge, and that kindly supervision afterwards which is one of the principal conditions of the successful treatment of juvenile crime.

2. That a succession of short sentences, maybe for trivial offences under the ordinary prison régime, as devised for adult prisoners, has a tendency rather to accentuate than to arrest the habit of crime.

3. That the element of *time* is essential. Experience has shown that something may be done in twelve months—little or nothing in a shorter period ; that the system should be one of stern and exact discipline, tempered only by such rewards and privileges as good conduct with industry shall earn, and resting, on its physical side, on the basis of hard manual labour at skilled trades ; and on its moral and intellectual side on the combined efforts of the chaplain and the schoolmaster. Such a sentence should

not be less than three years, conditional liberation being freely granted when the circumstances of any case give a reasonable prospect of reclamation, and the opportunity exists for employment in a fitting situation on discharge.

4. That the cornerstone of any system for dealing with this age, sixteen to twenty-one (technically described in England as "juvenile-adults"), must be a well-organised After-Care Association, composed of earnest, philanthropic, and benevolent men, prepared both by visitation at the prison and by following up cases after discharge, to give much time and trouble to the work of reclamation. They must also be in the possession of sufficient funds to give the needful assistance required, either for the maintenance of cases while employment is being found, or for the preliminary expenses of entering upon a new situation or employment. Such an association has been founded in England, as already stated. Upon its efficacy in the future, and upon the support which may be accorded in it, will depend, to a large extent, the success of the "Borstal Scheme."

5. And, lastly, experience goes to show that the elaborate and costly methods which the State provides for detention under long sentences of penal servitude for persons convicted of serious crimes—mostly of mature years, and at the end of their criminal career—are equally required in the early stages of imprisonment for offenders of immature age, and at the beginning of their criminal career. If these can be arrested (as we believe they can) under some such system as described, the State will recoup much of the additional cost which their detention for long periods of time will entail, by cutting off the supply of young recruits who eventually join the great army of professional crime. An example, moreover, will be furnished of what the State, by well-directed and humane efforts, can do to convert into honest and law-abiding citizens young criminals who, in many cases, from want of opportunity, and knowledge of better things, come into conflict with the law during that

period of life when their manhood is not fully developed, and their unformed habits of body and mind admit of the application of reformatory treatment with a good prospect of ultimate success.

It will be recognised by those familiar with the discussions which have taken place of late years at recent International Congresses, that this Act, in prescribing the strict limit of age, 16-21, for persons liable to its provisions, has taken a very bold step forward, and has made a clear distinction as to the treatment of offenders too old for the application of juvenile methods of punishment (*i.e.*, Reformatory and Industrial Schools) and too young to be classified offhand, without injury, among ordinary adult prisoners. It has thus a great legal and psychological value, as marking the age of 21 as the age of criminal majority. It is scientifically true that the body does not attain its full development till that age; and, with regard to the mind, although cerebral development is not capable of scientific demonstration, it is inferentially certain that the complexity of the brain-structure (*i.e.*, the development of the organ without which the various mental processes cannot normally take place) increases not only with the growth of the body, but also, in many individuals, long after coarse growth of the body—in fact, proceeds *pari passu* with increasing mental activity and attainments, which are themselves the result of experience and of association with others in the conduct of life. It is, moreover, conceded that development of character is closely allied to physical development. If so, the character will not be developed in normal man before 21, and it has been observed by scientific authority that the children of the poorer classes develop physically much later than those of the more favoured classes, even as late as 25 or 26. In 1898 careful observation was made of all youths discharged from Pentonville between 16 and 20. This disclosed the fact that both as regards height and weight the evidence of physical deficiency among young criminals is abundantly clear. As a class they are $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches

below the average height of the general population of the same age, and weight approximately 14 lbs. less. Twenty-six per cent. were afflicted with some sort of disease, deformity, or disablement. The same inquiry revealed the fact that a large proportion of the offences committed by these lads was for larceny and the other offences against property without violence, and that the highest proportion of re-convictions is in this class no less than 40 per cent. This fact alone denotes a great social danger. The succession of short sentences which law and custom prescribe for this dangerous class of young criminals has been neither a deterrent nor a remedy. This is a malady not to be cured by soap-and-water methods, but by the arm of the law, which has now strengthened the hands of the authorities and given to them the means and the opportunity of applying a strong, firm, and humane discipline, which, while conquering the rebellious instinct, will at the same time, by a system of industrial and physical and moral training, supply these lads with the moral backbone which, in many cases, through want of good and healthy influences in their homes and in their lives, is entirely absent.

Would that these wise words were taken to heart by every magistrate in the country!

PROBATION.

The Probation of Offenders Act, 1907, provided a distinct step forward in the treatment of prisoners in this country: upon its wise and wide administration may depend a greater diminution in the total volume of crime and a more effective endeavour to stem its growth and spread than any change in the penal laws of the country during recent years. It is of especial importance in dealing with juvenile offenders, and those who were responsible for the Act have brought themselves into line with all students of penology and the psychology of adolescence, who have

realised that in dealing with juvenile offenders (if not all criminals) it is of importance to consider, not so much what they have done but what they are and what they may become. As has already been indicated, most of the boys who are brought before the courts need either a continuous lengthy training under discipline, or a helping hand to secure a decent home and work. It is here that the Probation Act comes in, and, by providing the services of a gentleman who is likely to influence the boy for good, and turn him from his evil way, may put the lad's future career on a secure and healthy basis.

The writer has acted as Probation Officer in the Metropolitan area, and he has no hesitation in testifying to the good results which may accrue by the adoption of the Act in suitable cases. It is a regrettable fact, however, that in London at all events (the writer believes that the statement is also true of other parts of the country) the magistrates have been slow in appreciating the benefits to be derived from the Act, and in many cases have been actually hostile to it. That this must be the case is apparent from a study of the figures published by the Prison Commissioners, who point out the remarkable fact that of those juvenile-adults whose sentences were for one month and under during 1908-9, no fewer than 63 per cent. were first offenders, and of those sentenced to over one month no fewer than 45 per cent. were convicted for a first offence. The Commissioners pertinently remark :—

“ These figures would certainly go to show that a very large field still exists for the operations of the new law of Probation. That Act has only been in force for a year, and it is too early to expect an immediate effect on the figures of juvenile crime.

If it can be assumed that where the punishment was for a month's imprisonment or less that the offence was of a trivial nature, or admitted of extenuating circumstances, it is possible, and we hope probable, that future years will show a large decrease of commitments of these young persons to prison."

The Commissioners add that it is a happy anticipation to indulge in that the considerable decrease which has taken place since 1894 in the number of juvenile-adults convicted (nearly six thousand) "may be greatly accelerated as the powers given by the Probation Act are more widely known and appreciated and a good machinery established by which an alternative to commitment to prison may be furnished."

The reports from the various prisons published in the Commissioners' Report emphasise this view. Thus, the Bradford Discharged Prisoners Aid Committee

"confidently affirm it to be their opinion that if the Probation Act is fully and efficiently carried out it will greatly lessen the stream of youthful criminals which has for years been flowing into our prisons, and that in the near future our prison population will include few if any persons under twenty years of age."

Of 150 prisoners placed on probation at Bradford 130 kept their recognisances and are reported as doing well.

The Governor of Hereford Prison mentions a case of a boy between fifteen and sixteen years of age who was committed for twenty-eight days for stealing money—a case typical of many which we have come across, indicating the shortsighted policy of many of the magistrates in dealing with such lads. The Governor remarks: "This was a case in which the good offices of the Probation

Officer might well have been requisitioned, but although a first offence the magistrate sent the lad to prison."

The Governor of Leeds Prison, reporting on the results of the Probation Act, said:—

"It may therefore, I think, be fairly assumed that a considerable number of young offenders, instead of being sent to prison, have by the operation of this beneficent measure been brought under the influence of the Probation Officers, who are practical philanthropists, and perhaps saved from a life of crime."

The chaplain at Lewes remarks: "I am far from satisfied with the working of the Probation Act. Persons have been committed to prison for a short period or placed in the Second Division who may well have come within the beneficent scope of the Act."

In London, at all events, so far as many of the courts are concerned, the Act has been practically a dead letter. One lady who was appointed on salary by the Home Office to give a third of her time to the work had just three cases entrusted to her care during the whole of one year!

But the apathy and hostility of the magistrates has not been the only unsatisfactory feature of the administration of the Act, so far, at all events, as juveniles are concerned. Middle-aged, retired detectives are, as a rule, not the type of person to be able to deal satisfactorily with young boys, however conscientious and experienced they may be. The police-court missionaries, against whom as a class the writer has nothing but praise, are, as a rule, not qualified either by age, or by the time at their disposal, or by their general character, to act as Probation Officers to lads who may be brought before the magistrate. At least

three boys have applied to the writer for help, after having been bound over under probation to a police-court missionary (a very able and experienced man), who simply gave them a few shillings and said he was sorry he could do no more! It was quite impossible for this man, with a thousand and one other duties to perform, to do anything more than he did. But this by no means interprets the spirit of the Probation Act, which thereby becomes a dead letter.

Moreover, the few paid officers who were appointed in London were given an unmanageable area comprising several of the police-courts, and it is quite impossible for any one man satisfactorily to supervise boys living in Hoxton, Stepney, Bethnal Green, Walworth, Southwark, Leyton, Spitalfields, Islington, Clerkenwell, and Lambeth. Boys from all these areas were entrusted to the writer. Again, the remuneration offered for the very responsible work involved is altogether inadequate, and on an unsatisfactory basis. The work must not be done by incompetent, inexperienced persons or its whole effect may be lost. There is, further, the flaw in the existing system which omits to provide for the periodic review of reports by Probation Officers by persons competent to advise them in case of need and difficulty.

So far as the Children's Courts are concerned the writer hopes that there may be attached to each court a "Chief Probation Officer" who will perform many of the duties now undertaken by the unofficial police-court missionary, who will advise the magistrate where necessary with regard to cases brought before him, and who will superintend and organise the whole work of Probation cases dealt with at the court. He should be paid an adequate salary, and should

have had knowledge of work amongst children and young persons, and of the problems affecting them. There should be little difficulty in securing a sufficient supply of voluntary Probation Officers acting under his supervision. Very few cases should be entrusted to each individual (as a rule not more than two or three, or at most six in exceptional cases), and this would ensure that the work would be thoroughly done, in addition to the desirability of arranging that the Probation Officers shall have intimate knowledge of the district in which the probationer lives and works. It would be the duty of the organising officer to be acquainted with all the Homes and other institutions dealing with boys in the area covered by the court, and where the voluntary Probation Officer had difficulty in securing employment it would be the duty of the organising officer to keep in touch with employers for this purpose. There should be available, when necessary, sufficient money, provided either by the State or by voluntary funds, to give the lad a home and decent clothes till he obtained work.

Everything depends on the personality of the Probation Officer, and no doubt, so far as the older boys are concerned, he will often be chosen from the ranks of those who have devoted themselves to the work of boys' clubs, Lads' Brigades, &c. The boy will look upon him as a real friend on whom reliance can be made for friendly counsel, guidance, encouragement, and help. On the other hand, the boy must be made to see that the probation is not a mere farce, and that if he breaks his recognisances he will certainly be brought before the magistrate.

Care must be taken to see that, just as it is unwise to send to prison lads who might usefully be placed upon probation, so it is impolitic to

bind over boys who need discipline and training under close supervision. The writer had two cases entrusted to him coming within this category—one boy, the illegitimate son of a woman who still earned money on the streets and refused to keep the boy, was charged with stealing. He was placed in no fewer than three different boys' Homes, being dismissed from each for troublesome behaviour; work was found for him, but he left it, and stole again. The writer discovered that the boy indulged in unhealthy habits which had unsettled his whole character and physique. What the lad required was careful medical supervision, strict discipline, and healthy physical exercises for several months, and this was ultimately secured for him by his being sent to Borstal, after having been charged at the Sessions. This course should have been taken in the first instance.

The other case was of a boy with no home, who had done no regular work since he went to school, and had passed his time in idleness and vicious habits. He, too, required training, and the writer was compelled to bring him before the magistrate after a short interval.

As the Probation Commission of the State of New York reported in 1906:—

“The Probation system . . . is not free from dangers. These dangers arise in the main from a disposition to regard the newest thing in the social advance as a panacea, and consequently to apply it without due consideration. Probation . . . is not in all cases, even of juvenile offenders, a proper substitute for commitment. To fail to place the offender under a vigorous corrective discipline, when such course is clearly indicated by the circumstances of the offence and the previous character and present disposition of the offender,

is an evil only less serious than to imprison the offender when the circumstances would justify his release upon probation."

It should be possible to deal with the juvenile-adults on somewhat similar lines to those suggested with regard to the lads brought before the Children's Courts. Outside London, at all events, there should be no difficulty in arranging that the Chief Probation Officer attached to the Children's Courts should organise the probation work also for these youths. In the Metropolitan area the police-courts comprised within the area covered by the Children's Courts (of which it is understood there are to be four) might be grouped for this purpose in a similar manner. It is essential, however, that the work should be organised and supervised, and that the right type of Probation Officer should be chosen for the work.

From what has been previously said it will be apparent that the lines of advance in the future in dealing with the boy criminal lie (1) in a vigorous yet discriminating use of the powers given by the Probation of Offenders Act, 1907; (2) in the reduction to a minimum of the unwise and useless short sentences hitherto given to young offenders; (3) in the adoption, in all suitable cases, of the powers given by the Prevention of Crime Act, 1907, providing for the detention on "Borstal" lines of young offenders who need training and discipline; (4) in a more effective use of the Industrial School Acts in cases where the environment and atmosphere of the home are bad, or where the child is of so bad a character as to need detention.

The New York Prison Association has a passage relating to Elmira (the "Borstal" of the

State of New York) in their last report which may be quoted here :—

“Would you not think it worth while to try and reform 25 per cent. of the younger criminals if your son or your brother were among the number? Put yourself in his place. Yes, but you say perhaps ‘Put yourself in the place of the plundered public.’ True! Let us do both. The public has a right to be protected. Our first duty, indeed, is to the public; but what if we make 70 per cent. or 50 per cent. of the Elmira young men *a part of that public*; law-abiding useful citizens, helping us in the business of public protection? Is it not our social duty to do so; even to make a hazardous attempt to succeed? Protect the public by all means, but protect the public by reforming the criminal if possible, and study diligently what is possible.”

This, then, is the spirit which should animate all those who believe that society has sinned as much as it has been sinned against in dealing with its criminal population, and that by wisdom and care and the discriminating use of the powers that the law of the land gives us, much of the crime of the country may be stemmed at its source, and many of the harmless, unfortunate lads who are now charged at the police-courts may, by kindly guidance, be trained into useful, honourable citizens of the country, rather than be driven, as is so often the case under present conditions, into a career of crime and vice.

VII

THE STATION-LOUNGER: A STUDY

BY T. NORMAN CHAMBERLAIN

THE Social Science of the last generation with its theories and generalisations has nowadays given way before a succession of detailed inquiries, from every possible point of view, into the actual facts of our present social organism. Spencer and Marx have been succeeded by Booth and Rowntree and that Grand Armée—the investigators of the Poor Law Commission.

It is this specialisation which is my only justification for the following paper. As street trading is one of the many problems of the modern town, so the station-lounger is one of the many problems of street trading; and though he may be classed with other street traders from some points of view, yet in others he is quite distinct from the paper-seller, the flower-seller, and other such classes.

The typical lad of this class can be seen any day outside most of our big railway stations and the tram termini in the centres of the towns, trying to get a "carry" from some bag-laden passenger; now and then a traveller for the day brings joy to his heart, but most of the day he is filling up his time in spending pennyworths at the coffee-shop on the corner, gambling with the rest of the boys, and dodging the police. Every

degree of tidiness and cleanliness, of dirt and disreputability is represented. Their ages vary from fourteen to twenty-three, the most common age being sixteen to nineteen. Some have been there nine years, others only a few weeks. Except when cadging off a passer-by they seem a sociable, happy-go-lucky set of lads with many opportunities of seeing life. Some are always to be found at neighbouring race meetings; they thrive on Royal Visits, Test Matches, local murders, and similar excitements. Many make annual excursions into the country for the pea-picking season, going on to the fruit orchards, and later to the hop-fields. Others—the individualists these—have gone “on the road,” making excursions into wild northern towns where they “make their own bread,” into the coalfields of South Wales or to London—that raiser of hopes inevitably false. To the passing student of social reform they will instantly be ticketed as “born unemployables,” “the waste of the labour market,” and “apprentices in crime.”

Before turning to the facts it should be explained that this inquiry was a fortuitous growth springing from the demand of two of these lads that I should find them work. Since that day, over three years ago, there has been a continual succession of such demands, and at present I know well at least two hundred Birmingham street-loungers, past or present. In only a small minority of cases did I make the first move, and only then for special reasons. In every case I have found out from the boy all there is to know—about his home, his history both at school and at work, and the causes of his appearance “round the rattler” as they call it. While making sure of the general accuracy of these facts, I have found the actual figures

borne out both by the opinions of the boys themselves and by the general impressions and experiences which cannot be reduced to figures.

The inquiry may be divided into four parts—Why is the station-lounger there? What is the result to him? Is he past help? If not, what should be done?

The first question is, undoubtedly, the most important, for the others largely depend on it. The answer is an unexpected one, quite at variance with one's preconceived ideas. As to the reason for any one being outside the stations at all, the obvious reason is one which is too often forgotten. As every lad is dependent on himself for his food, and often his bed, he would not spend the day there if there was no demand for his labour. So long as people want their bags carried and will not use the licensed out-porters within the station gates (either because there are not enough or because the charges are too high) so long will there be a supply to meet the demand, and one may fairly criticise the persecution of these lads until the authorities have arranged to meet this demand in some other way.

Coming to the reasons that have brought particular individuals "down the town," their home conditions and industrial history have a far greater effect than personal character.

To start with, 98 out of 174 were living in common lodging-houses when first encountered (paper-sellers, on the other hand, are mainly living at home, at any rate in Birmingham). And here it should be remembered that in a lodging-house they have to pay 4d. for their "kip," cash down, each night; "no strap" is the rule for all but the most regular of *habitués*; as a situation entails weekly wages it is thus practically impos-

sible for a boy who has no alternative but the lodging-house to keep a job even if he finds one.

Not only the number of boys in lodging-houses, but, probably, the very existence of the station-lounger, is explained by the following figures. Out of the 174 of whom I have the facts, 134 had homes where one or both parents were dead, drunkards, invalids, or criminals, had deserted the home or were permanent out-of-works.

The individual history of the boys also shows a contrast to that of the *Mail* sellers. Most of the latter have sold *Mails*, &c., all their lives, and have rarely had a regular job. Each has his own beat and his own customers, and can be fairly sure of making a regular living at it. Most of them are only in the centre of the town on their way to or from the newspaper offices; those who sell in the centre of the town are often on the borderland between paper-selling and station-lounging, and may be classed with the latter.

As for the station lads, it is a mistake to suppose that they have always been loafers, and that they have never had regular work (though five or six months round the station may, of course, have a deteriorating effect, and manufacture loafers out of the best workers). Of all the youths of this class whom I know, only about 24 have never had a regular job; the working career of the others seems hardly different from that of any other son of unskilled parents. Many have had jobs for a considerable time—several for two years, a large number for over a year. Their reasons for leaving, generally corroborated, are the usual ones—shortness of work, wanted a rise, row with the foreman—while in a large number of cases the fault can be laid only

at the parents' door. They have generally worked at the tube mills, rolling mills, brass and bicycle works. While there are a few absolute wasters and "unemployables," there are others of really fine character, and between these two extremes are to be found all degrees of hopefulness.

Thus, contrary to expectation, personal character is much less responsible for station-lounging than home conditions. As we have seen, the industrial character of the lads is much the same as that of other boys of their class; the same, so far as I can gather, is true as to their character at school: they were neither better nor worse than the others, though it is noticeable that a large proportion escaped much of their school life, and the average leaving standard is low. On the whole, I, personally, have found them surprisingly truthful and absolutely honest; the older ones, especially, can be trusted with any commission and (to them) large sums of money. I only know eight or nine cases of theft out of the 174. Nor do I know of more than one or two cases of drunkenness while on the station.

Coming now to our second point, the results of this life on the lads themselves are only too obvious.

As soon as they appear round the station they are done for absolutely, *unless external aid is forthcoming*. I have heard of a few who enlisted from off the station, and of a few who found work, but I think every one came back again. What is more, every day that is spent round the station makes it harder to get away and start afresh. All the boy's old friends, his family even, all the connecting links between him and the regular work of the factories, break off one

by one ; his clothes become shabby, his boots unfit for working in ; if he were in a lodging-house he could not keep himself for the first week of work, even if he got a job. Further, the demoralising effect of unemployment on a grown man cannot compare with the havoc it wreaks on the character of a youth who finds himself cut adrift from all his old friends and in the continual company of out-of-works.

Gambling, too, is the invariable accompaniment of a life such as that of the paper-sellers and station-loungers ; the number of prosecutions bears absolutely no relation to its extent, for practically every one of the youths is continually gambling, the youngest being perhaps the worst offenders. The worst place for it is the lodging-house — on Sundays the boys gamble away the whole of their spare cash—but it is run close by the canal-side, the coffee-houses, and the newspaper offices ; while directly a few paper-sellers have collected at a street corner to be ready for the distributor of the next edition, they will start gambling at once. The present system has not the least effect on the evil—indeed, hardly touches it.

Lastly, it is hard to over-estimate the effect on the character and stamina of a growing youth of the cold and wet of a Birmingham winter, and of continuous ill-nutrition. (An average weekly budget shows 3s. 2d. out of 8s. spent on food, the rest going towards lodging, cigarettes, and gambling.) Even when they get work, these lads are continually ill, and many of them have weak hearts and chest trouble. While on the station the majority are ill-fed, and when they do have food it is almost invariably in halfpennyworths of bread and “butter” and halfpenny teas with

an occasional "corned meat." Some time ago I worked out the fact that out of 32 of these lads, seventeen years old or over, only 19 could have passed the height standard for the Army; 15 of these tried to enlist, but only 4 succeeded, teeth and chest measurement being the main reason for objection. It is further recognised by the lads themselves and by all who know the class that they rarely pass middle age, and may die younger still.

From the lads' point of view, however, the main characteristic of their trade is not so much its effect on their physique as the all too close contact into which it brings them with the police. It is they who are mainly responsible for the ordinary police-court cases of "sleeping out," "gaming," "obstructing," "jostling," "shouting," and "trespassing" (on the foot-bridge across the station). Though in most cases a fine is the only punishment allowed, the alternation of imprisonment is almost inevitable, as the boys never have the money to pay. Very often no fine is imposed and the case is either adjourned or dismissed. In practice adjournment means dismissal, and the boy never hears anything more of the case, for the simple reason that the policeman who is to report as to his conduct is at the end of the four weeks (the usual period of adjournment) on another beat. To all three forms of dealing with this class of lads there is the same objection: it leaves the lad whom it ought to help exactly where he was before, with this difference, when he has been to prison, that he has become familiar with prison and found it not so terrible after all.

Nor is there any common policy in dealing with these cases. Decisions seem to be given

regardless of previous convictions, of age, of the length of time spent round the station, of the desire or otherwise for work. In the first place this is unfair on the boys; for them Justice is uncertain and unequal in her blows, her actions incomprehensible—and yet certainty, equality, and clearness are *the* three essentials if she is to be respected and effective. Secondly, there is the appalling waste of time and money under this system, affecting the taxpayer as well as the Bench, the police, and the prison officials. Nor is there any benefit to the boy. I have never heard of one kept off the station and started on a new career by imprisonment, any more than by the alternatives of adjournment and dismissal. One only has to read the Annual Reports of the Governors of prisons to see the futility of these short sentences. Equally unsatisfactory is the usual policy of the police in reference to these station-loungers. These boys are in a continuous state of offending against the law; they are liable to a summons at any moment of the day; when arrested or summoned, it is not for an active but for a passive fault, for being where they have been each day for many months. It follows that here, too, chance rules absolutely: 114 of my lads have been in trouble, 107 of whom are responsible for 247 terms of imprisonment of one month or under (in default of payment of fines), 16 fines paid, 200 adjournments, 9 probation cases, and 17 committals to schools; but 60 others, who have equally offended, have never had a summons in their lives; this divergence is quite arbitrary, and has no reference to character. But perhaps the most serious fault is this: each week sees new faces round the station, but a youth is rarely touched or disturbed till he has been there many months, for the ones who are

prosecuted are the elder ones—the *habitués*. Surely it is obvious that directly a boy appears at the station he should at once be brought under the only influence that can save him; at present he is let to get used to the life and its consolations and companions, and each day he is left undisturbed lessens the chances of success and increases the difficulties and work of the would-be reformer. A similar danger lies in the toleration of the school-children who flock there out of school hours and in holiday-time, becoming familiarised with the life and learning its attractions. The few boys I know who never had a job started in life that way.

Inside the gates of the station the railway company has, of course, complete control; while fairly successful in keeping the older youths outside, they seem unable to touch the small ones, of whom there are several on the bridge and on the platforms; it is, of course, these whom one is most anxious to catch. Secondly, it is obvious there is a demand by the station gates for the carriage of bags, or the youths would not be there. Is it not possible for the railway company to station some of its out-porters by each of the gates?

As for an alternative to the present policy, youths with long sentences enjoy the full benefits of the full Borstal system; those sentenced to more than a month are now put under the "Modified Borstal system," while, of course, all under sixteen are dealt with by the Children's Court. It is surely wrong that alone amongst offenders under the age of twenty-one the class of youth to whom I am referring should be denied all reformatory influences. While it is legally impossible for him to receive the discipline and training of the Borstal system, he benefits hardly

less than the children, by the helping hand and personal influence of the Probation system. The general application of that system to the lads of this class is imperative, for it will succeed where the old system fails, in finding out why they are on the streets, and in removing the obstacle between them and a life of respectability and regular work. -

In fact, it is admitted by the Prison Commissioners that the good results even of the Borstal treatment are largely due to the after-care of the Borstal Association ; and once a youth has been to prison the greatly increased difficulty of getting him work is admitted on all sides. There is thus every reason for applying to the short-sentence youth of sixteen to twenty-one the methods already in use in cases of juvenile offenders.

With boys living under such conditions and with so much against them, one can easily prophesy their future. The following account of their subsequent careers is taken from the evidence of the boys themselves. A large number become hangers-on at race-meetings, bookies' touts, &c. ; a still larger number take to the roads and degenerate into tramps. Many " stand around the town " holding horses' heads, doing odd jobs, and alternating between prison and the casual ward ; a certain number, very few, get work ; many of them enlist in the Regulars ; and there is a certain percentage which becomes part of the ordinary casual market.

Given that these lads are (on the whole) not there through their own fault, given also the effects described, the next point to be settled is whether anything can be done for them. I think the following figures answer the question : Of the 139 I have helped, 87 are doing well, 29 are doing badly, and 23 are doubtful ; 57 of these

139 have at one time or another been sent away from Birmingham, 26 to Canada, Australia, and the United States (2 back), 10 into the Army (3 discharged), 22 into farms, hotels, and mines in England and Wales (18 back, of whom most have since settled down satisfactorily).

A few general remarks on these figures are necessary. That a lad is classed as a failure does not mean that he is hopeless; and, on the other hand, that a lad is a success does not mean he has not been a trouble at the start. Also when a lad is settling down he still needs looking after and helping (those in lodgings especially) with clothes, hospital notes, and their lodging-money when trade is bad. One interesting point emerges in the greater steadiness of the oldest lads. It seems that after some years of station life, when they have reached the age of twenty or thereabouts, they realise their position, and try hard to get into regular work. But it is then of course much more difficult and often impossible.

Successful as individual effort may be, it is not, I think, a possible or desirable solution of the evil, and, before closing, a few words may be said as to what the line of reform should be. I have already dilated on the more pressing side of this question—the policy of the police and of the Bench. But apart from Probation some more satisfactory method than a short term of imprisonment must be found for dealing with the thoroughly demoralised lads of this class, lapsed Probation cases, as they will be. Such cases the Bench should have power to send to a Borstal institution, and, as they are not thieves, one such institution might be kept solely for these cases. The class is just the one to benefit by the Borstal treatment, however apparently trifling the offence.

Secondly, the street-trading evil is an insistent one, and the centre of our towns will continue to disgrace us till the question is faced. At present the fear of the halfpenny sporting and evening Press is preventing all action. Here it must be remembered that, though the policy of licensing street traders is in itself no solution, yet without it control is impossible, and, without control, extinction is equally impossible.

The need of raising the Children's Court age, or of having a similar court for juvenile-adults, and of raising the age of our Reformatory and Industrial Schools, is also urgent. There is great scope for more specialisation in the schools system.

And yet, though this is no place for a detailed discussion of such matters, the real roots of the evil remain. If in addition to these three reforms, we improve the character of boy labour and so the character of the boy; if the State realises the need of dealing properly with cases of decent widows with young children, and of drunken and work-shy heads of families; if the Employment Exchanges can be made a success, then at last there will be some hope of seeing the end of the present wastage amongst the working lads of to-day—the fathers and citizens of to-morrow.

VIII

STREET TRADING BY CHILDREN

BY J. H. WHITEHOUSE, M.P.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN ACT, 1903.

IN the year 1900 the then Home Secretary appointed a Departmental Committee to inquire into the work performed by children of school age. The Report which that Committee presented to Parliament led to the passing of the Employment of Children Act in 1903. This is the chief Act which is concerned with the employment during out-of-school hours of children still attending school. Certain statutory regulations are made in this Act on such points as the total number of hours which may be worked. On others local authorities are given power to make bylaws. The Act deals with the whole of the employments to which children are sent, but one of these—viz., trading in the streets—is made the subject of special regulations. The minimum age of a child trader must not be less than eleven years, the hours between which trading may take place are specified, and powers are given to local authorities to raise the minimum age and to impose certain conditions for trading in the streets, such as the provision of proper clothing, &c. But the whole spirit of the Act of 1903 was regulation rather than prohibition, and the

responsibility for carrying out the statutory provisions, and for seeing that the regulation was adequate, was thrown upon the local authorities. The Act from the first was regarded as a tentative measure, its permanence obviously to depend upon the ascertained results of its working.

THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE, 1909.

In 1909 the Home Secretary, then Mr. Herbert Gladstone, appointed a Departmental Committee to inquire into the working of the Act of 1903 and to report upon any amendments which were necessary in regard to street trading and the other employments dealt with in the Act. The appointment of this Committee was the result of a promise made by the Government when the Children's Bill was under discussion in the House of Commons, in response to the many appeals made in the House for the abolition of street trading by children to be included in that Bill. Although, therefore, the Departmental Committee might have concerned themselves with the general question of the employment of school children, they resolved to confine themselves for the most part to the subject of street trading by children of school age and young persons, and the Report which they have issued is chiefly concerned with that subject.

THE WORKING OF THE 1903 ACT.

In order to form an opinion on the recommendations which the Departmental Committee make, the extent to which that portion of the Act of 1903 which deals with street trading has been successful, should be considered. Section 2 of the Act, which gives power to local authori-

ties, to make bylaws for the regulation of street trading by children and young persons, is permissive, not mandatory, and the extent to which it has been taken advantage of is shown in the following figures : In England and Wales, out of 74 county boroughs, 50 have made street-trading bylaws. Of 191 smaller boroughs and urban districts, only 41 have made bylaws. Of 62 administrative counties, only 1 has made bylaws. In Scotland none of the 33 County Councils empowered to make bylaws has done so, and only 3 out of 56 burghs. In Ireland no one of the 33 County Councils have taken action, and only 5 out of 43 Urban District Councils have adopted bylaws under Section 2 of the Act.

It is thus clear that in Scotland and Ireland the Act is a dead letter as well as in many parts of England and Wales. The Committee find that in many places even the statutory provisions of the Act are not observed, so that much street trading is done by children under eleven. In Edinburgh children of seven trade in the streets. The Committee find further that where bylaws have been adopted they are frequently not enforced, and have left the local conditions unaltered, and that this method of regulation of an unquestionable evil has proved neither adequate nor satisfactory. Even where bylaws are rigorously enforced they can at best only modify the difficulties of the position.

THE EXTENT TO WHICH STREET TRADING EXISTS.

It is difficult to give an accurate estimate of the number of child traders on the streets. In England and Wales the number officially licensed or to whom badges had been issued was in

1908 more than 37,000. To this great total must be added the number trading in places where no system of registration exists and trading in other places in defiance of bylaws never enforced. In Scotland and Ireland the Act is so greatly unobserved that no estimate is possible. The returns from four towns in Ireland show 3,468 children engaged, and from four cities in Scotland 303. Probably in other towns the figures vary from a dozen to 500.

THE NATURE OF STREET TRADING.

The majority of child traders sell newspapers. This is true not only of London but of every part of the country. In the bulk of cases they are principals trading on their own account and dealing direct with the newspaper proprietors. After newspapers come match and flower selling, though these are largely a cloak for begging. A number of boys are engaged in the delivery of milk, accompanied by occasional sales.

THE EVILS OF STREET TRADING.

The evidence is so clear and widespread as to the evils resulting to children and young people through trading in the streets that argument on this point is hardly necessary. The chief of these are the physical injury sustained by children through standing about the streets in all weathers, often insufficiently clothed; the moral injury following upon a life on the streets, which in the case of girls generally means their ruin, and in the case of boys rapidly leads to gambling and crime. At the best it unfits those who engage in it for any regular work in life. Fresh from school, and in many

cases before they have left school, they enter upon a wild, undisciplined life, and suffer both mental and moral degeneration. The evidence of superintendents of police, of social workers with practical experience of the problem, of schoolmasters, of medical men, of the representatives of civic authorities clearly establishes these facts.

THE POSITION OF NEWSPAPER PROPRIETORS

We have already pointed out that the problem is largely concerned with the sale of newspapers. The proprietors were the chief, if not the only, witnesses who had anything to say before the Departmental Committee in favour of street trading by children, and they appeared to think that prohibition would mean a serious handicap to their business. It should, however, be noted that the newsagents maintained that they could adequately meet the needs of the public, and they complained of the loss of trade which they suffer through the competition of the boys selling in the streets. Our own view is in harmony with that of the Committee. We believe that the newspaper problem is one which could be got over without difficulty. The Continental system of the newspaper kiosk might well be introduced in this country and a more general system for the delivery of papers to the houses of customers might be developed. Old men, incapable of other work, might be increasingly used in the street sales of papers, and note should be taken of the practice of one great London paper, the proprietors of which, feeling that the use of boys for this work generally led to their ruin, employ only men for sales throughout the city.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE.

The Committee find the evils of street trading to be clearly established; they describe the results of the system in grave language; they are satisfied that any form of regulation is inadequate; and they recommend statutory prohibition of street trading in the case of boys up to the age of seventeen, and in the case of girls up to an age not less than eighteen. Some recommendations of a minor character are also made.

CONCLUSION.

The objectors to legislation to carry out these proposals are likely to fall into three divisions.

1. Those concerned with the sales of evening newspapers. These we have already dealt with.

2. Those who urge that the earnings of the children are necessary to relieve the poverty of parents. This is the argument used through all history when legislation to protect the young was suggested. It is not unreasonable to urge that we have now reached almost general agreement that it is not right to sacrifice the coming generations on any such plea. The case of the poverty of the parents must be dealt with in other ways.

3. Those who suggest that it would be impossible to absorb in other forms of industry the boys prevented from trading in the streets. We believe that so far as boys of school age are concerned, they should not be employed in industry at all. Above school age there is a constant, and in many cases unsatisfied, demand for boy labour, and even though it be true that much of this is for unskilled work, such as

messenger or van-boys, it is yet work of a higher and more disciplined character than street trading. But we may hope that with the development of the juvenile side of the Labour Exchanges the supervision of all employment to which boys go on leaving school will be adequately organised ; and though it is true that street trading by children is only one detail of a great social problem, the entire solution of which requires far-reaching educational and economic reform, it is a detail almost unique, for its practice is necessarily destructive of the child's power to become either a good or a healthy citizen.

IX

THE SUPERVISION OF JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT

BY J. H. WHITEHOUSE, M.P.

THE supervision of juvenile employment is carried forward a step by the passing last year (1910) of the short Act giving local Education Authorities the power to incur expense in establishing machinery for helping children to find the proper entry into industrial life. It would be a disaster if these authorities attempted to act except in co-operation with the Labour Exchanges of the Board of Trade, for the question is one that can only be satisfactorily dealt with through such co-operation.

For each town or other area there should be a juvenile employment Central Advisory Committee, such as is contemplated in the Special Rules with regard to the registration of juvenile applicants for employment at Labour Exchanges, issued by the Board of Trade after consultation with the Board of Education. This Committee would include persons having knowledge of industrial and educational problems as they affect the young, and would be nominated in part by the local Education Authority.

This Committee would be charged with the duty of arranging for the supervision of young persons during the first years of industrial life,

wherever this seems desirable. It would be part of their duty to inquire into, and publish reports upon, local industrial conditions so far as they affect the young, and generally to act as a guiding and educative force. The Committee would have a paid secretary and a central office.

The Committee would appoint school sub-committees to take charge of certain schools or groups of schools; and it would receive from the Education Authorities a brief record of the school history of each child leaving school. The duties of the members of sub-committees would be to see these children and also to visit their homes. In all cases where the sub-committee was not satisfied that proper employment had been secured or was likely to be secured, it would be their duty to advise, both as to the kind of occupation which might be taken up and how it could be obtained. In this connection an important point arises. Should the children be sent direct to the local Labour Exchange or to the Central Advisory Committee? We are inclined to think that perhaps the better plan would be for them to be sent at a stated time to the office of the Central Committee. There they could be seen by the secretary to the Committee and also by an officer from the local Labour Exchange, who would attend for the purpose. The secretary to the Committee would be able to supply the official of the Labour Exchange with brief details about each case and with any special report or suggestions that had been made by the visiting members of the sub-committee. The Labour Exchange official would record each case upon his own forms, and it would then be the duty of the Labour Exchange to find appropriate employment, being guided as far as practicable by the information given.

It appears to us highly desirable that the Education Authorities should be associated in this manner with the Labour Exchanges in the choice of employment for young persons, and that educational influence should thus be continued during the years of adolescence, especially in view of the setting up of compulsory Continuation Schools. In this event, the continued education of youth would be under the care of the Education Authorities, and it would be appropriate for them to have some responsibility for the work to which young people were sent during the years of partial education.

It would be, in our opinion, undesirable for Education Authorities or for separate schools to institute their own Labour Bureaux, distinct from the Labour Exchanges. There is much to be said for requiring employers to go only to one centre. Moreover, a boy who went from school to employment through the agency of the School Bureau would, on leaving that employment, naturally go for his next job to the Labour Exchange.

Under the scheme briefly outlined above the two authorities would each perform their appropriate duties. The Education Authority, through its representatives on the Central Advisory Committee and its sub-committees, would, to some extent, exercise pastoral care over children leaving school. It would also be an educative and guiding force on the whole question of juvenile employment. The Labour Exchange, on the other hand, would be the medium for receiving all applications from employers and for introducing the boy to industrial life, and it would be enabled to do so in a much more effective manner through the co-operation of the Education Authorities in the way indicated.

It is clear that the combination of educational and industrial knowledge that would be brought to bear by the Advisory Committee on the problem of the placing of juveniles in industry would have striking advantages over the limited information available to either authority acting alone ; and would go far to prevent the present waste of promising material on unsuitable jobs.

The duties of the members of the sub-committee would by no means be confined to advising boys and girls about their immediate work. Much good would be done if the visiting members would make themselves responsible for seeing that they and their parents had every inducement given them to take advantage of the various facilities for continued education. They would, indeed, be in a position appropriately to undertake the functions of "after-care" committees. As to the composition of these sub-committees, where the system of school managers already exists, these members would nominate members of their body to serve on the sub-committees. Where Children's Care Committees are already in existence, possibly these could, with additional members, become the sub-committees, and both in connection with the sub-committees and with the Central Advisory Committees the services of members of existing apprenticeship and similar societies could be utilised.

X

DR. KERSCHENSTEINER'S SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN MUNICH

BY T. C. HORSFALL

THE country has unquestionably gained great advantages from our national system of elementary education. Few persons who were quite unable to read and write and do simple sums would now be able to earn their living, and a very large proportion of our people live under home conditions which make it very desirable that they shall pass a good deal of time under the care of teachers. Our national system of education has given us the two great advantages of causing the great majority of our children to gain some knowledge, and a large number to gain a considerable amount of knowledge, of the three R's, and of causing nearly all our children to receive much valuable discipline. If these advantages could not have been gained at a lower price than we have paid for them, they would have been worth their cost. But, as we all know, the cost in time and in money is very great, and so is the cost to the children, their parents, and the whole community of the loss of much other knowledge and much other discipline which they do not get at school and which they need for their happiness and to make them good citizens. The reports of school

doctors, too, make it certain that a very high price is paid positively in the acquisition of physical disease and weakness by children, and negatively in loss of chances of gaining vigorous health and strength of body, through our existing school system. Still, I repeat, as the three R's and discipline are necessities of life, the high price paid would not be too high if they could not be got for less. It is, however, impossible to study the results obtained in our Industrial Schools and in many English and foreign schools, and to know of the marvellous results obtained throughout Sweden by a good system of physical training, without being driven to the conclusion that, by leaving undone much that we are doing in most of our schools, and by doing there much which we are leaving undone in most of them, we could make children much healthier, stronger, better, and happier, much better prepared both for home life and for bread-winning work, than most of them are, and could also give them in the later part of their school life a fuller knowledge of, and a much keener interest in, the three R's than most of them acquire at present in the whole course of their school life. Happily, much has already been done in this country in many schools to adapt the curriculum to the real needs of children, but in our system as a whole there is still a grievous lack of fitness for the purpose of preparing children for life. It will not, I think, be a waste of time to point out briefly that similar mistakes have been made with disastrous results respecting both the feeding of the bodies and the feeding of the hearts and minds of our children. A certain proportion, fortunately not a large proportion, of mothers cannot suckle their babies, and therefore a certain number of children have to receive inferior food. The evil

of misfeeding has become so serious chiefly because mothers, able to suckle their children, though they might feel tired if they did so, and would certainly be prevented by doing so from taking part in many kinds of work and of amusement, have been advised by doctors and nurses to let their babies be fed by the bottle. Thus the habit of giving babies "bits of anything that is going"—potato, fried fish, pickled cabbage, beer, gin—has been made very easy to acquire. Nature indicates almost as clearly what are the right kinds of food for the mind and heart of the little child as what is the right kind of food for its body. The marvellously rapid way in which a baby grows in power of feeling, thinking, doing things, in the time which passes before even the most ignorant or most helpless parent thinks of bringing the influence of the three R's to bear upon it shows that, by the use of its eyes, its ears, its hands, and the love of imitating the people round it which seems to exist in every part of its nature, it will be able to go on for many years being educated mentally and morally and gaining strong, wholesome interests. These, in a world where so much can be done only by help of the power of reading, writing, and calculating rapidly and well, would inevitably give it, by the time it reached the age of seven or eight, a strong desire to conquer the three R's. Pickled cabbage, fried potato, salt beef are not more unsuitable diet for a stomach which has not gained the power of digesting them by long use of mother's milk than are the three R's for brain and heart which have not gained much knowledge of things and strong desire to gain much more knowledge about them by the use of hands and senses. The three R's were, in fact, given at first to children only because

they were "bits of what was going" in the diet of grown-up persons. Both kinds of misfeeding have one bad result. They cause the child to lack that food which it needs for the building up of its powers and make it permanently weaker than it would otherwise become. Premature feeding with the three R's has another bad result which does not come of physical misfeeding. The child who gets potato and meat when it ought to have only milk will be less able to digest and assimilate meat and potato when it reaches the age at which they are appropriate food, but it is not deprived of appetite for meat and potatoes : it is not caused to loathe them by getting them too early. Unfortunately, the premature application of the three R's not only prevents the brain and heart from having the power to digest that kind of food when the age has been reached at which full growth can be gained only by full use of it, but very often it also gives a loathing for it. A considerable proportion of the children who have been trained in our Elementary Schools leave school with a strong dislike for all kinds of mental work ; and a much larger proportion leave without appetite for the contents of wholesome literature and lacking all those powers and habits of inquiring, thinking, and feeling which make the three R's valuable instruments of culture.

We know that where most mothers have been enabled and induced to suckle their babies, as in Norway, not only do fewer babies die, but those who do not die have less suffering ; they form sounder teeth, they grow taller and broader, and show in later life by greater freedom from consumption and other diseases and better formed and more vigorous bodies that the gain to the baby has been gain to the adult. So it

will certainly be with the minds and characters of the children of the near future and the men and women of the coming years if the substitution in the early years of school life of physical training and hand-and-eye-training for the use of books, and lessons in writing and arithmetic, which has been begun in this country, be completed.

In Germany, though very much harm has been done by the undue use of books, children have been saved from the worst kind of maltreatment which has befallen our children, owing to the fact that in the greater part of the country children do not begin to go to school till they have completed their sixth year. The schools provided by societies and individuals for children not yet in their seventh year are not numerous, and the training which they give is that of the Kindergarten. I believe that such a terrible thing as babies' arithmetic is non-existent in Germany. But in the great majority of German schools the three R's, religious instruction, and many other subjects taught by help of books, have been, and still are, applied very rigorously to the children who have reached school age. It is one of the numerous advantages which Germany has gained from its system of school doctors that, in the large number of towns and country-districts where school doctors are at work, all the children who are passing into their seventh year are examined, and those who are in weak health are kept out of school for another year. Book school life has so injurious an influence on children that it was found by Dr. Schmid-Monnard that the delicate children in Halle thus kept at home for an extra year increased on an average during that year some 30 or 40 per cent. more in weight and height

than the more robust children who spent their seventh year partly in school.

Among the German school reformers who have seen the evils of the ordinary education by books the Herbartians, whose leader is now Dr. Rein, of Jena, have been the most prominent. They have seen that the formation of high character, which they rightly regard as the chief object of education, can be the result only of training which gives not only knowledge of, but also respect and love for, what is right, and they seek, therefore, to give all children strong, wholesome interests. This cannot, of course, be effected by simply charging them with knowledge, but only by causing them to use their powers of thinking and feeling strenuously and willingly, and directing these powers to right objects.

The Herbartians attach great value to drawing and to educational handwork, but they believe the most important part of the curriculum to be those subjects, such as Biblical instruction and history, which they think to be able to cause children to feel approval of, and keen sympathy with, noble and unselfish thought, feeling, and action, and disapproval of that which is base and wrong. These subjects are regarded as character-forming, and with them all the other subjects are connected as closely as possible. The strict regulations which govern Prussian schools are obstacles to the introduction of the Herbartian system into Prussian schools, but it has been adopted in many schools in Central Germany, and it has greatly influenced educational work all over the civilised world.

There is another group of German educational reformers, whose leader is Dr. Kerschensteiner, the Director of Education in Munich, of which

I must now speak, and to which I must in the rest of this chapter confine my attention. It has proved that it deserves the careful and respectful attention of all who can influence the schools in large towns by freeing, or almost freeing, Munich from the great evil of boys in blind-alley occupations from which our towns suffer so severely, and from which only a few years ago Munich also suffered severely. Dr. Kerschensteiner does not believe that any subjects of instruction deserve in any high degree to be called character-forming. He believes that good character is formed mainly by right action, and that unless you enable children to do habitually that which in their lessons they are told they ought to do the reading about good and noble actions can have little good effect on them, and may, indeed, develop hypocrisy and indifference to all that is good. For this reason and many other reasons he seeks to replace reading about things as much as possible by doing. He agrees with Professor Dewey in believing that our schools hitherto have been intended only for "listening."

A brief account¹ of the subjects which Dr. Kerschensteiner had to study when he was being trained to be a teacher in an Elementary School, and of the first results of the study of them, will make clear why it is that he has adopted as his motto for schools, "As little as possible; as thorough as possible." During the five years of his training he studied Church history, Biblical history, religion, universal history, physical, political, and mathematical geography, the history of German literature,

¹ "Grundfragen der Schulorganisation," by Georg Kerschensteiner, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig, 1907, price 3s. 6d.

German composition, German grammar, arithmetic, algebra, planimetry, stereometry, writing, freehand drawing, linear drawing, mechanical drawing, geometrical drawing, general pedagogy, theory of instruction, psychology, zoology, botany, mineralogy with geology, chemistry, physics, human anatomy and physiology, playing the piano, the organ, and the violin, singing, harmony, agriculture, the cultivation of fruit-trees, vestry accounts, Church service, the system, method, and technique of gymnastics. Just before the completion of his seventeenth year he left the training school without having suffered any serious injury; at any rate, any serious physical injury. But his mind had stood still. Later a hunger for real knowledge seized him, and at the age of nineteen and a half he began, he says, to drink like a baby, not from the thirty-six breasts which the training school had offered him, but from the breast of classical antiquity. After studying in a classical school and at a university, and filling the chair of Physics and Mathematics in the University at Munich, he was made Director of Education for the city of Munich, a town of 570,000 inhabitants. The system of education for boys which he has developed is applied in three sets of schools: Elementary Day Schools, attendance at which is compulsory for all boys from the completion of their sixth to that of their fourteenth year; Continuation Schools, in which attendance is compulsory for boys from the beginning of their fifteenth to that of their eighteenth year; and schools at which attendance is voluntary for workmen and masters who have reached the age of eighteen. Dr. Kerschensteiner believes that the course which ought to be taken in the Elementary School is clearly indicated by the

life of the normal child in the normal home, that the school ought to continue the development of all the healthy activities and interests and kindly relations with others which have been begun in and round the home, and should keep in the closest possible touch and sympathy with the whole of the child's life in its relation with its parents and neighbours and their interests and occupations, supplementing the home life where it is deficient by the use of the resources which are at the command of the school, but not at that of the majority of homes. As all healthy human life is based on knowledge and love of nature, of which the average city home gives almost no knowledge, he believes that much must be done (*much*, rather than *many things*) in the Elementary School to give children enduring knowledge and love of nature.

The following extracts from an address given to Swiss teachers in Zurich by Dr. Kerschensteiner will show what changes he considers desirable and what changes he has been able to effect:—

And now came men and built on this foundation. They built with the stones of past times by Pestalozzi's method. The learning-school of the Middle Ages became the learning-school of the new age. But meanwhile the mind of the child has more and more become an object of loving study. Meanwhile we have discovered that the methods of passive observation quite fail to do justice to the mental life of the child. Meanwhile we have gained a more living knowledge than ever before that building, creative powers, sometimes of astonishing force, exist in the child. The principle of "self-activity" became a catch-word. The proud name of

educational school was invented, and those who imagined that they were shaping such a school in accordance with Ziller's theory of character-forming instruction called themselves "scientific teachers." And yet when you go into the schoolrooms of the teachers of the self-activity school, the teachers of the character-forming instruction school, you find work which essentially is that which is done by the teachers of the passive observation school. You find everywhere the old learning-school, or, as it would perhaps be better to call it, the old book-school. You will, however, perhaps object: "But that is the work which the school has to do—to make the children familiar with certain subjects, to help them to increase their knowledge, to order it aright, to complete it, and to use it independently; it must be a learning-school or it is not a school at all." Certainly it must be a learning-school, but it must be one which meets the whole mental life of the child, a learning-school adapted not only to its receptivity, but also to its productivity, not only to its passive but also to its active nature—a learning-school which does justice not merely to its intellectual, but especially to its social impulses. It must be a learning-school in which children learn not only through words and books, but still more through practical experience.

If we examine our existing schools from these points of view, we see that they rather allow the productive powers of our children to die out than develop them; that they often try to mould powers, especially intellectual powers, at a time when they are unsusceptible of moulding; that they connect learning with things for which interest has to be awakened artificially by ingenious means, while they only rarely use fully

for purposes of instruction the round of experience which the child brings to school with it; and that, so far as methodical instruction is concerned, they give the social nature of the child hardly any food at all.

And if Professor John Dewey, of Chicago, is perhaps a little too radical in his reform work, he is certainly entirely right when he complains that our schools of the Old and New Worlds are intended only for "listening."

But the scholar, both in the years which he has to spend in the Elementary School and in the early years of childhood which precede that time, is very far from being arranged only for listening and for the passive reception of other people's knowledge. On the contrary! The years of childhood, till puberty is reached, are as a rule characterised by great activity. In those years it is of the essence of the child to work, to move, to do things, to see what things are made of, to take part in all kinds of life, so as to learn uninterruptedly by the help of realities. The whole unresting life of play of the child is an arrangement directly intended by nature to ensure that its mental and physical powers shall grow under the influence of living experiences of all kinds. Healthy children, especially when they are not cooped up within the grave-walls of large towns, are all initiative. They are constantly discovering new spheres for their activity, and get so immersed in them that they forget all the rest of the world. Ninety per cent. of all boys and girls, in spite of our book-education, far prefer every kind of practical activity to quiet abstract thinking and reflecting. The proverb, "Practice is better than precept," "Trying is better than studying," is quite true of them. Only

when other people's knowledge enables them to do something which they are trying to do, do they open their ears to hear: then they will swallow books and not only story-books. They are always ready to work in workshop and kitchen, in garden and field, in the stable and fishing-boat. Here is their most fruitful field of knowledge. Here are the thousand things which their growing intelligence eagerly appropriates; here the hundreds of kinds of skill are developed which their unconscious muscular sense acquires; here, before all, they learn to feel the pulse of social life throbbing in what they themselves do. Here they get to know the relations which create a common life between one person and another, the dependence of the small on the great, but, too, that of the great on the small; here they learn to help and be friendly to their own people and to strangers, to comfort the sad, to feed the hungry, to refresh the weary, to inspire the motherless with confidence, and, just as in their games, to make efforts in common, to organise themselves in common, and to be willing to subordinate themselves.

And now the school opens its doors. Gone is all occupation which took possession of the child's whole nature; gone is the reality of the home, the workshop, the stable, the garden, the field. Gone is all digging, building, making, all productive activity. Gone is the whole world of the child. A new, strange world with a hundred riddles and incomprehensible demands and aims stands before it. Instead of the sandheap, the tool-box, scissors, hammer, whip—slate, pencil, spelling-book, ruler; instead of merry chatter and story-telling—silence and listening; instead of roaming in fancy through the whole visible world—attention and making one's mind go

straight forward ; instead of discovery, experiment, making things—imitation ; instead of joyous romps in street and alley—sitting still and holding book or slate ; instead of joint adventures under a freely chosen leader—solitary, prescribed occupation ; instead of helping the weak comrade by one's side—holding one's self aloof lest he should copy. Is it any wonder if the little ones are frightened at first and lose their heads, if they turn into themselves instead of going out of themselves, if their thoughts escape out of the four walls of the schoolroom in spite of all goodwill, all reproofs and punishments ?

Happily as a rule a kind-hearted teacher stoops over them and tames the timid birds with gentleness and love, and removes the big stones which prevent their advancing on the new and unaccustomed path of knowledge. . . .

Most children gradually get accustomed to the new island of knowledge, to which they row across twice a day from the continent of their previous round of experience, but to which they do not know how to make a bridge. Nay, more. They get accustomed to its methods of work and grow fond of them. Instead of living with real things, they learn to associate with their shadows ; into the place in their esteem once held by the world of experience rises book-knowledge decorated with the garlands of honour which the school winds round it ; into the place formerly held by bold love of adventure on untrodden paths of discovery comes resolute work on well-worn roads ; into the place of observation, examination, and doubt comes swearing by the words of a teacher.

I should be unjust if I failed to recognise the advantages given by the school of to-day, advantages which come from getting accus-

tomed to work which was not desired at first, and from the firm structure of school life with its scrupulous order and its rigorous seriousness. Certainly children can gain in it valuable fundamental qualities which we cannot dispense with : accuracy, conscientiousness, carefulness, endurance, orderliness, regularity, self-control. We must indeed admit that just these moral gains are most marked when the school does not exclusively comply with the scholars' inclinations, provided that the sun of a kind-hearted teacher shines in it. But what the school of to-day does not give to the child to take out into life with him, what it rather stunts than fosters, are certain active characteristics, which were present in germ in most children when they first came to school, the courage of independence, the courage of self-assertion and of enterprise, the courage to get to grips with the new and unaccustomed, pleasure in observing and testing, and, more than all, pleasure in working not solely for one's self, in growing not solely for one's own sake, for the purpose of outsoaring others and of being victor in the wild combat of life, but to be able to place one's abundant powers at the service of all who are in need of help.

And therefore the question presents itself : Is it not possible so to reshape the school of to-day that, while not losing the good qualities which it now has, it yet may do more justice to the nature of the child, and may develop in him that active part of his mind which at present it neglects, which indeed at present it allows to die of inanition? If that is to be possible, it can only come about through our addressing ourselves from the first beginning of instruction more than we have hitherto done to the child's

creative powers, and, as far as possible, in the same sphere of activity with which it is connected before and during its school life by its personal inclinations and aptitudes, and its economical environment. Just as to the little child the playroom of its home is the workshop of its mind, where the thousand impressions and stimulations received from its surroundings are worked up into a visible world, so for the older child the workshop of the school must be the central workshop of its activity, from which it willingly passes into the learning-rooms of the school in order that, freighted with new treasures, for which it has itself longed, it may continually return into the workrooms.

Our learning-school must become a work-school connected with the play-school of earliest childhood.

Not that our existing school does not already demand work from the child. To read well, to write clearly, to do sums correctly, all this is work, and, too, work which may have a strong educational influence on the character and will of the child, just as careful dusting may have the blessing which F. W. Foerster has so beautifully described in his "Jugendlehre." These kinds of activity may indeed acquire the value of productive work if we get rid of the breaking-in machinery of our present school system, if we at last learn to understand that the little scholar would rather work from out of himself than let work from outside be put into him. . . .

But, in the first place, this sort of work is chiefly mental work, and presupposes, if it is to have much influence on the child, no inconsiderable amount of intellectual power. Secondly,

this work, at least during the years of school life, is not always closely enough connected with the rest of the child's life ; and, thirdly, it promotes only the child's own growth, only gives pleasure to itself, only helps it forward without regard to its fellow-creatures.

What the new work-school needs is, in addition to the field of purely mental work, a rich tract of manual work. For here lies for the great majority of human beings the most fruitful field of development. What it needs, further, are kinds of work which shall, if possible, be, in some way, connected with the bread-winning or home work of the parents, so that the threads spun by the school shall not be broken every day when the child takes its satchel from its shoulders. " If a child has to know and learn more than its father knows," says Pestalozzi in the Swansong, " the teacher must intertwine his supplementary work with the father's work as a weaver weaves his flower into a whole piece of cloth." Thirdly, what the work-school needs is work done by each child for the good of its school-fellows, work which from the first day onwards shall again and again preach the lesson, "*The meaning of life is not ruling but service.*" Only when school work is thus ennobled can it be the foundation of civic education, an education which all members of the community ought to demand, first and foremost, from the school, and for which, as for much else, we have hitherto looked only to empty words. Only from work done in common comes the feeling of common tasks, the feeling of the need for subordination to common objects. . . .

Not alone for the sake of manual skill do we need workshops, not in order that our people may not lose the habit of doing practical work,

not in order that children may be taught to plane, saw, file, drill, sew, weave, cook ; not that the work of their hands may continue to be dear to them ; no, we need them above all in order to educate people who shall learn to know, from the very root, the object and blessing of the State and devote their services to it in gratitude.

We need such schools because, not the book, but work is the channel of civilisation, self-sacrificing work done for the service of fellow-creatures or of a great truth. We need them, also, because children have such very various gifts. For only when these gifts are properly dealt with does our work in educating and instructing have good results. If we do not deal rightly with the gifts, we can only give a troublesome course of breaking-in. . . . In the workshop, the laboratory, the school kitchen, the school garden, the drawing-room, the music-room, each child finds the work which it can do. Here the weak child works side by side with the strong and gets help from him, or can get, and ought to get it. Here the small child working at the small task and the big child working at the big task feel together the joy and blessing of success. Here they do not need to march all abreast. For here, where pure memory work is impossible, the result of the work is of far less importance than its method. Here the "individualising of instruction," elsewhere the most deluding of catchwords in our wholesale ear-work, no longer causes the teacher any trouble. It comes of itself.

All these considerations and reasons led my mind to busy itself during the last twelve years with efforts to discover means and ways of smoothing the road for the coming work-school. Advance could be made only step by step, and

will continue to be a constantly new and troublesome operation so long as the training of teachers is not saturated with the completely new spirit of the work-school. First, in the year 1896, I succeeded in connecting obligatory school-instruction in cookery for four hours weekly with all the eighth standards in girls' schools, and in getting from this instruction all the material for the chemical, physical, and physiological, as well as the arithmetical, instruction of the girls. A year earlier my predecessor had made the first experiment in the seventh standard in one school. A few years later school-gardens were provided for all schools, the playgrounds of which made it possible, and particularly the kitchen-gardens were entrusted to the girls of the eighth standards. About the same time aquaria, plant-cases, aviaries and caterpillar-boxes were sent to the schools, and every year more than ten thousand bulbs were distributed among the third and fourth standards to be cultivated in the schools. In the year 1900 workshops for wood and metal were connected with all the eighth standards for boys, and six hours of obligatory instruction were given in them each week. This instruction provided the material for drawing and for instruction in mechanics, geometry, and arithmetic. In 1903 began reform of instruction in drawing, which from the very beginning was placed in the service of decorative art, and therefore of the productivity of the child, a venture for which I was more and more encouraged by my extensive investigations respecting the development of children's power of drawing. A year ago I at last succeeded, after severe struggles, in obtaining for the eighth standards obligatory instruction in physics and chemistry for four hours a

week, and this instruction, notwithstanding the strong opposition which it still meets with, will doubtless not only not again disappear, but will sooner or later descend into the seventh and sixth standards also. That will chiefly depend on the kind of spirit in which the instruction is given, on how the teachers get used to it, to whom at present it is a quite new kind of instruction. If the great experiment succeeds, and I firmly believe that it will, in the next few years the further question will have to be dealt with as to whether the workshop-instruction cannot be placed in the service of laboratory-instruction, just as to-day the sand-building boxes have shown that they can be used in the service of instruction in home-knowledge and geography. Thus step by step the ground will be dug away from under the old book-work, and I hope that the invincible idealism of our teachers and the victorious might of the idea, which though old is ever new, will give a constantly increasing power for the transformation of the old school-stream.

When I see the sparkling eyes, the flushed cheeks, and the untiring joy in their work of the boys and girls in our school-workshops and laboratories, our school-kitchens and school-gardens, I find in them the best proof that we are on the right path. Here those wake up who on the school-benches were thought idle, stupid, or careless, and who would certainly have been put into the aid-classes if we had had such classes. Not seldom indeed we find that such poor children far excel those of their school-fellows who have better memories, and that the delightful feeling of success and the unaccustomed praise of their teacher draw them out of their sleepy, dreamy life, so that they now make

greater efforts to do their headwork well. What dreary boredom there used to be only six years ago in our rooms for drawing, when the straight line, the segment of the circle, the geometrical figure, the abstract ornament, still sat on the throne of art, and the real talent and love of creative work of not a single child could make anything of them ! What a change there is now that the things of the house, the workshop, the garden are there and the children can exercise their love of drawing and their artistic impulses in the making and decorative treatment of the things of daily use, the weakling with his scanty means, the gifted with the whole wealth of his imagination ! What a breath of joy goes to-day through all our drawing classes, what an amount of inventive talent in decoration and construction has been suddenly liberated, and streams now from the school-island, but lately so solitary, into the life of the home, like the flames of a great conflagration which set fire to everything in the neighbourhood that can burn ! With what joy some children bring to school things which they have made at home and fill teachers and schoolfellows with astonishment at power, of the existence of which no one had previously had a suspicion !

It is indeed a revolution which the new drawing-instruction has brought with it, a revolution which is almost greater than that which occurred eight years ago when we connected workshops for wood and metal with all the highest standards for boys, and school-kitchens with all the highest standards for girls. Another great revolution is being slowly effected in the domain of nature study. The obligatory connection of school-gardens with every school-building was by itself of great importance.

Unfortunately, it is very difficult to develop practical gardening in large towns. At most one can provide occupation of the kind only for the highest classes. In order to bring the lower classes under the educational influence of the cultivation of plants we have had recourse to growing flowers in pots: we have not only done this in the schools, but, with the aid of the Gardening Association, we have entrusted many children with plants in pots to be kept in their homes.

The transformation of the learning-school into the work-school is easier in the domains of physics and chemistry, especially for boys, and can be more quickly effected both in town and country by the introduction of school-laboratories, with which we have also made a beginning. It is possible that they may prove to be the most fruitful field for the development of the work-school.

Physics, as taught to-day in all our elementary schools and in the great majority of higher schools, is memory-work, and, like all the natural sciences, so taught it loses most of its educational value. The specific value of all instruction in the natural sciences in lower and middle schools lies in the methods of work, in the methods of observation. Only if a boy applies these methods himself does he learn to observe, to compare, to draw conclusions, to form objective judgments, to test carefully, to act independently; only then does he acquire endurance, patience, care, orderliness, cleanliness, and tastes all the joys of investigating, examining, discovering, which incite even the less gifted to ever new efforts.

But the use which more than all else makes the day-school laboratory seem to me valuable,

a use which no one has yet fully developed, is that it offers a most fruitful field for the work in common of groups of scholars, where various talents can combine in mutual serviceableness for the harmonious pursuit of the same objects. Let me give an example. We have, say, a class of forty-eight boys. According to the nature of the task to be done, or the amount of apparatus available, I divide them into twenty-four groups of two boys each, or sixteen groups of three, or twelve groups of four. Each group has the same task as the rest. The first scholar of a group undertakes the work of observing; the second checks the work of the first; the third does the calculations and attends to all the things which have to be made; the fourth checks the work of the third. When one set of observations is finished, the parts are changed. If something has to be made, the boy who is most dexterous has the first turn at the work. If the rôles have been changed, and there has been the proper amount of variation in the work, the results obtained are compared; if the differences are too great, the sources of error are discussed in common, and finally the average is taken. In the case of more important observations the average of the results obtained by several groups can be taken, and thus the final result assumes more and more the character of work done in common and the consciousness of personal responsibility for the result can be more strongly emphasised. In this work it is impossible for the individual to work for himself only from selfish motives.

He must become a part of the group, must help, be ready to serve, must teach those who know less than he does, and he experiences the feeling of common satisfaction or of common disappointment.

The school cookery instruction of the girls is similarly organised. Always six girls attend to the same cooking range, having a fixed course of work which is altered from week to week in due order.

Much more might be said about the practical working in nature-study, in first instruction by object-lessons, in geographical instruction, in geometrical instruction which can be carried on so usefully in the open air with measuring chains, measuring rods, and sextants, about the right organisation of compulsory gymnastics and athletic games, and dances and singing games for girls, and the class-festivals which recur annually, but I must not attempt this.

The transformation of the learning-school into the work-school in Munich has gone furthest in our Continuation Schools ¹ for boys. Here the boy with all his practical interests really stands at the centre of things, here all instruction starts on its course from the school-workshops and goes back into them ; here a professional school, which must always be incompatible with the Elementary School, is possible. Owing to the strict classification according to trades, which restricts attendance to boys of the same kind of employment, a spirit of close companionship and of intimate mutual relations is soon created in

¹ A much fuller description of the Munich Continuation Schools, which are probably the most efficient schools of the kind in the world, is given in "Grundfragen der Schulorganisation," by Georg Kerschensteiner, Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1907, price 3s. 6d. An English translation of this book would be very useful. More information than can be given here will be found in "The Continuation Schools in Munich," by T. C. Horsfall (Charles H. Barber, Manchester), price sixpence.

the school, and, as the result of the obvious devotion of masters and journeymen to the educational purpose of the schools, there is also the spirit of trustfulness and of mutual respect. The new institutions at first met with much ridicule and depreciation, but mockery and ridicule have already ceased. For the great usefulness of the work reveals itself with ever-increasing clearness. My laboratories in the Elementary Schools are still called useless toys, and the introduction of them into schools meets with great opposition. But the time will come, just as surely as day follows night, when it will seem incomprehensible that instruction can ever have been given in any other way. . . .

Mankind always finds it very difficult to break away from traditional modes of looking at things and traditional customs.

This is made all the harder if, secondly, the whole system of organisation, inspection, and examination has been made to fit the learning-school. It is so easy to inspect and to examine when one has only to measure the quantity of knowledge. For, firstly, one can examine by wholesale methods, and it is very easy, if one is an examiner, to learn by heart two days beforehand the matter about which one will examine on the third day. That is made impossible by the work-school. In that school, if one is to examine, one must know the subjects and not merely words relating to them. Examination wholesale by means of questions either oral or written is quite impossible. The work-school can no longer ask the Elementary School child, "What do we mean by specific weight and how is specific weight ascertained?" It hands him a piece of lead, stone, or wood and lets him really determine the specific

weight of it. The work-school cares very little whether or not the boy in the modern school (*Realschueler*) can repeat the names of the twenty-four classes of the Linnean system, for it knows that printers' type can easily act as a substitute for a weak memory. It is quite satisfied if the boy can define the plant which is given him.

A third obstacle to the transformation is the increased cost. Schools have to be provided with workshops, laboratories, kitchens, and gardens. The teachers themselves have to be equipped with a quite different, and much more lasting, training than that which has been given, while training schools, like all other schools, have been little more than cramming-places for book-knowledge. And, lastly, the work-school is not compatible with work in crowds, at least not in work-hours. In the workshops not more than from sixteen to twenty, in the kitchens only twenty to twenty-four, in the laboratories only twenty-four to thirty, in the new kind of drawing instruction not more than thirty-six scholars can be provided with occupation and guidance at a time.

But the good always costs more than the middling. And just as when we start for a long journey on foot, we are willing to pay a little extra for a pair of shoes which will wear well, we can well pay somewhat more for the extremely durable experimental knowledge with which the work-school equips our children for the journey of life than for the all-too-fleeting knowledge which books place in the memory. The extra cost, too, is not very great. For the greater length of time which has to be paid for, owing to the division of classes in practical work, can, in great measure, be retrenched from

theoretical instruction, in which the whole undivided interest of the child now co-operates.

The more, therefore, we can spread insight respecting the value of the work-school, by word and by example, the more we guard ourselves against that foolish exaggeration which can see nothing useful in the old learning-school, the more we persuade people that the knowledge given by the learning-school can be extremely well incorporated organically into work-processes, that we do not in the very least intend to neglect the three R's, which are so necessary for the future gain of livelihood and culture, the sooner will opposition disappear, the sooner will the transformation be completed in all our school work, a transformation which John Dewey thinks will not be very unlike that effected by Copernicus when he transferred the astronomical centre from the earth to the sun. "The child will then be the sun, round which the whole school system will revolve; it will be the centre round which education is organised."

When this transformation is completed, though not quite as Dewey imagines it, the union of home and school will also be completed for the first time. Then both places will be filled with the same life-interests, and the school will have the task of bringing order into the forces which these interests liberate, and into the spiritual and moral possessions which those forces acquire. . . .

We will, therefore, look forward in happy confidence to the time which the new school will bring us, the time whose dawn is unmistakably visible in all civilised countries. When that time has arrived, Pestalozzi's ideas will for the first time be translated into deeds. Then "observation" will really have become "the foundation

of all knowledge," then the "principle of all instruction" will really be "taken from the unchangeable aboriginal form of the mental development of man" (6th Letter to Gessner, No. 4), then instruction will be the art which simply aids Nature's own efforts towards self-development (1st Letter to Gessner, No. 34), then "nature and art will be as closely united in the education of the people as they are forcibly separated at present" (1st Letter to Gessner, No. 39).

I must speak only very briefly of the Continuation Schools, which receive all the Munich boys when they leave the Elementary School at the close of the fourteenth year of their age and keep them till they reach the age of eighteen years. The schools, as I have already mentioned, are compulsory. They have to be so, in the first place, because if they are to be of real service to their pupils and the community, the scholars must attend them in the daytime, or at latest in the evening, and not at night when they are tired with a long day's work elsewhere, and compulsion on the scholar is necessary for the purpose of compelling his employer to allow him to absent himself from work during school-hours. Compulsion is also necessary for the purpose of enabling the Continuation School to bring its influence to bear on all children when they leave the Elementary School, as some children, though they may have enjoyed their Elementary School life, would, without actual experience of Continuation work, prefer to spend all their non-work time elsewhere than in school. But Dr. Kerschensteiner is convinced, and comparison of the results obtained in Munich with those

obtained elsewhere proves that he is right, that though attendance at the Continuation School must be compulsory, it is quite as necessary to make the teaching thoroughly interesting and attractive to each scholar as if his attendance depended on his own will. Attendance of the mind, will to work hard and steadily, these are voluntary, and unless they are obtained the presence of the body is of little use. In Munich the object of making the instruction and training given in the Continuation School very interesting to the scholars is not only that of inducing them to work hard and giving them a body of knowledge and habits of feeling, thinking, and acting which will make the time spent in that school of life-long use. Another object is sought: that of inducing as many of the scholars as possible to attend voluntarily the schools for workmen and masters when they reach at eighteen years the age at which compulsion ceases. Where, as in many other parts of Germany, little effort is made to interest scholars in what is taught in the Continuation School, but subjects and methods are chosen simply because the authorities believe them to be the best, the schools are detested by a large proportion of those who are compelled to attend them, and, when the age for freedom comes, hardly any young people are found to be willing to attend advanced schools.

The Munich Continuation Schools seek to do two things. They wish to make their pupils efficient workers and also to make them good citizens. In their efforts to make them efficient workers they have, as a rule, the hearty co-operation of the scholars, but, naturally, the boy or girl, just turned fifteen, has far less wish to become a good citizen than to become an efficient and therefore a well-paid, worker, and

yet, without his or her willing co-operation, the school cannot make him or her a good citizen. If the school is to have a chance of obtaining the necessary co-operation of the scholars, it must accept as its first duty that of making them efficient workers. Dr. Kerschensteiner is convinced that the Continuation School must, therefore, be in as close connection with the new work, the new interests and hopes, of the boy and girl who have just left the Elementary School as that school ought to be in with the home. The boy who has just begun his life-work as an apprentice or unbound, the girl beginning her work either in dwelling or factory, if there be any grit in them, cannot fail to regard their new work as the most important in the world, to desire eagerly to understand it and master it, to win the approval of their employers, and to show that they deserve promotion. This mood is not one of good citizenship: it is a mood of unmixed egoism, but the egoism is quite healthy and is necessary for the self-preservation of the individual. If the school makes each pupil feel that it shares his high estimate of the importance of his new work and desires to help him to master it and earn promotion, it will gain his gratitude and goodwill, and may be able to induce him to study other subjects zealously. If it fail to do this, it will have little power of guidance.

In order that the Continuation Schools may be as closely as possible in touch with each pupil's work, and may give each pupil the conviction that he is being really helped to become efficient, they have to be very highly specialised. In the year 1906 there were 47 separate Continuation Schools in Munich: for metal-workers, 10; for wood-workers, 4; for workers in the

building trades, 7 ; for graphic-workers, 3 ; for trades dealing with food — bakers, butchers, grocers, inn-keepers—4 ; for merchants, 2. Even the chimney-sweepers have their special school. Each school has its workshop and gives exercise in practical work. The young people not connected with a skilled trade, for whom, therefore, it is not possible to provide specialised training, are divided into three groups : (1) Apprentices to a skilled trade who are less than twenty in number ; (2) young workmen in unskilled occupations ; (3) those who, after leaving the day-school, have not adopted any particular occupation and are in danger of becoming loafers (in 1906 there were about a thousand youths of this class). For these three groups there are twelve Continuation Schools distributed over the town. In these schools, as the occupation of the pupils does not indicate that this or that form of manual training must be given, the parent or guardian of each pupil is allowed to choose whether the boy shall be taught wood-work or metal-work. One of the two he must learn, because it is found that the gaining of manual skill often enables and induces a youth who has taken to an unskilled occupation to change to a skilled one.

It is not only by specialising the schools that the scholars are made to feel that they are in close contact in school with their bread-winning work. Dr. Kerschensteiner has made very successful efforts to interest the employers in the different groups of manufactures and trades in Munich in the sets of schools in which their young workpeople receive the special training which they need, with the double result that different sets of employers show great generosity in equipping the schools and visit them so often that many of the scholars feel that intelligence

and attention shown in the school commend them as much to their employers as the same qualities shown in the workshop. For the same purpose as large a share as possible in the control and arrangement of the schools is entrusted to the employers and their foremen. One of the first and most encouraging signs of success in the early days of the new Continuation Schools was the fact that the employers in trades not yet provided with Continuation Schools asked that they too might have specialised schools.

Physical training and instruction respecting health form part of the curriculum in all the schools. The instruction respecting good citizenship, which the students are induced to receive willingly by their sense of the great advantage which they get from the schools, can be given, it is found, most effectively in connection with talks on the history of the special occupation of each set of students. In these talks the dependence of each trade for its welfare on the rest of the community is shown and attention is called to the reciprocal duties which are thus created.

The scholars spend from seven to nine hours a week in the schools. As a rule this time is made up of one work-day afternoon from two o'clock to five, and of another from four to seven. No school-work is done after seven o'clock. The rest of the time needed was, in the year 1902, and I believe still is, taken from the forenoon of Sunday.

Dr. Kerschensteiner has received evidence of many different kinds of the success of his reforms. I have quoted what he says of the happiness of the children in the Elementary Schools. Here is some evidence of a different kind. As I have already mentioned, in 1896, of

5,400 boys in the Continuation Schools in Munich about one thousand were in "blind-alley" occupations, or were loafers with no occupation at all. Last year, of about 2,200 boys who left the highest classes of the Elementary Schools, 2,150 went at once to handicraft or some other skilled occupation. "The children had tasted the joy of solid practical work in the Elementary School and the shunning of skilled work was at an end." Here is another most striking proof of success. Before the reforms were made, it often happened that not a single apprentice when released from the compulsory Continuation School, remained voluntarily for even a single year. By the year 1906 it was almost impossible to form enough classes for those who wished to continue their education when all compulsion was at an end.

XI

THE SCHOOL AS A MEANS OF SOCIAL BETTERMENT

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To the educationalist this title is of course tautological. The only excuse for a school which he would recognise is that it is a means of raising the social standard of the nation, of turning out better equipped, more highly developed citizens than those who have gone before them. Yet it must be admitted that the majority of people who send their children to school have not the vaguest notion that this is their reason for doing so. It is curious that the governing classes who have with this high-minded intention insisted on the provision of schools for the poor have quite a different notion of the matter where they themselves are concerned. Their boys, who are brought up to be unmanageable or, as they would say, high-spirited, go to school partly because they would be unbearable all the year round at home and partly that they may make eligible acquaintances for after-life. Their girls, on the other hand, are brought up in secluded docility and may therefore be provided for with a

governess in a top room. Still, for the mass of the nation the school is, and is recognised to be, a great engine of social betterment. In England, indeed, the whole system of national education has been reared on the foundation of the Ragged Schools, whose avowed object it was to draw children away from the fascinating misery of the streets. The growing complexity of modern life, the competition of other nations, the continually increasing importance of accurate and scientific knowledge, the progress that has been made in dealing with the problems of public health, the knowledge that ignorance means degradation and that through it nations lag behind in the world's work, have all combined to make the Education Department one of first-class importance. It is being realised that it is not enough merely to turn out a working class efficient in regard to labour alone, that a knowledge of the three R's and any amount of mere technical training will not do unless every citizen is also given a training to make him mentally, morally, and physically healthy as well. It is the recognition of this that has given us the School-feeding and Medical Inspection Acts, and the fact that the first is permissive and the second is also permissive with regard to the question of medical treatment does not in the least alter their importance from the point of view of the theorist. They prove a distinct advance in national ideas and illustrate the new theory that it is a national misfortune for children in the schools to be under-nourished or suffering from physical defects, that the body and not the mind alone are the care of the Education Authority.

The time has been ripening for this fuller recognition of national responsibility. For seventy years the Poor Law Authorities have

gradually had this idea forced upon them, and in their hands has been placed the greatest possible opportunity for raising the standard of child-life. They have had through their hands in that time hundreds of thousands of children who have looked to them for maintenance. Nothing is more curious in the history of the Poor Laws since the Commission of 1834 than the way in which the Guardians have gradually been forced to recognise that the best way to deal with child pauperism is to give to the children the best they can in the way of food, housing, and education. Nothing is more pitiful than to contrast the acceptance of this theory with the variations of its practice.

The Poor Law Authorities have always been handicapped in this as in all their activities by the legal limits of their duties, which are to relieve destitution and destitution alone. They have not had to prevent people from being poor and miserable, but only to prevent the poverty from continuing in so severe a form that people should starve and die. When to this legal limit is added the commonly accepted principle that Poor Law relief should be in itself deterrent so that people should keep themselves from starvation for fear of still worse things from the Poor Law, the difficulties of the Guardians with regard to children would appear to have been insurmountable. Luckily only about one man in twenty is logical and probably not more than one Board of Guardians in six hundred. At any rate there is only one which is known still to justify the retention of children in the workhouse on the ground that only so may relief be made sufficiently deterrent. The apology of every other Union which still keeps children in the House takes the form of showing, quite

unsuccessfully, that the children are as well off there as they would be anywhere else. Indeed, throughout the evidence taken by the Poor Law Commission and in all the investigations made for it, runs the same desire to show that the only consideration which the Guardians ostensibly brought to bear on the question was what would be the best they could do for the children. They admitted throughout that their aim should be to bring up the children who came within their guardianship so that they should be capable, healthy, and self-reliant citizens.

It must be pointed out that the Guardians have had a far greater opportunity for dealing with the children than ever the Education Authority has had. For the greater number of those within their charge the Guardians have had the opportunity of making and controlling the whole environment. The Education Authority, on the other hand, has only had this in a few cases, and in these the children have nearly all been of abnormal kinds—the blind, deaf, crippled, &c. Upon the great mass of the children with whom they deal, they can only bring their influence to bear for five hours every school day.

The Poor Law deals on an average with something more than 230,000 children on any one day in the year. Throughout the year there must be more than one million who come at one time or another under their control. The Guardians have not done without the help of the Education Authority altogether, and at least two-thirds of these children are to be found in the public Elementary Schools.

For some 160,000 the Guardians, although they have theoretically recognised the need of giving to every child pauper the best training they can,

have taken absolutely no responsibility. These are the children on outdoor relief, most of them the children of widows and all of them living in their own homes. Under the present Poor Law system every Board of Guardians pursues its own policy with regard to them without any advice or directions from the Central Authority. The consequence is that the utmost possible variation is found in their dealings with them. In more than 90 per cent. of the cases the families are destitute because the breadwinner has died or is ill. The Poor Law Guardians meet this misfortune, not by making sure that the family will not thus be prevented from giving good service to the community, but by handing out an uncertain and more often than not inadequate weekly dole to stave off immediate starvation. The usual income of such families is not more than 14s. or 15s. For the whole country more than half are below 15s. The variety of methods of dealing with the widows who have children show the greatest confusion as to principles. The Poor Law Authority has never made up its mind whether it wishes to enable mothers to stay at home and mind their babies or to be out all day earning for them at the trade, no matter how poor a one, which happens to come handiest. In some Unions the first is encouraged, in others the second. In some both appear equally the aim of the Board. In others again the method of ruthlessly breaking up the family is adopted, the Guardians taking from a mother all but one or two of her children. For those they take, they accept full responsibility. Those they leave behind continue wholly dependent upon their mother. The only further interest taken in such cases is shown by a periodical revision in order to find out whether the

mother's circumstances have not so improved that she may again provide for them all.

This proceeding shows in a startling degree the illogical absurdity, and indeed injustice, of the Guardians' methods. For the children they take they provide expensive housing, clothing, food, and schooling. The children they leave have only the wretched pittance of a woman's earnings. One wonders what excuse the nation can make for distinguishing between its children in this fashion, meting out to one comfort and to another poverty, and that through the medium of the same Poor Law. It is indeed the continual dilemma of the Poor Law, and only seems the more striking because in these cases the children come from the same homes and for the same reason and with the same justification have sought the Guardians' help. But everywhere it is the same. There are the miserable hordes on outdoor relief and the cared-for few on indoor relief. Amongst the latter, indeed, there are again distinctions to be drawn. For of the 50,000 or so on indoor relief, there are some 20,000 in workhouses and an equal number in expensive schools and Homes. The residue are divided up between the Certified Schools, over which the Poor Law exercises a purely nominal control, and all kinds of oddments in the way of Poor Law institutions—receiving homes, convalescent homes, and the like. But in between the two great divisions of indoor and outdoor there come the boarded-out children, who, though classed as out-door, have many of the advantages of indoor children. There are some 8,000 of these, and the Guardians admit complete responsibility for their well-being. Their maintenance, which costs from 4s. to 5s. a week, though less than that of children in

Poor Law institutions, is a very different amount from the " 1s. 6d. a child and nothing for the mother " which is the customary dole of out-relief.

For the children on outdoor relief, including the boarded-outs, the public Elementary Schools provide education. With this the Poor Law Authorities have no concern. But into the treatment of these children the school feeding and medical inspection Acts have brought certain complications. Wherever the first Act has been adopted, children on out-relief have been found in need of meals. Wherever a school has been medically inspected, children on out-relief have been found in need of treatment. Thus the Education Authority is already having to take over the duties which the Guardians have neglected. The growing feeling that more than book-learning lies in education will lead year by year to an increase in the Education Authority's responsibility. So far as the outdoor children are concerned, the proposal of the Minority Report that the Education Authority should become responsible for the care of all children and the Poor Law superseded seems already coming to pass, but until it is a settled legal obligation there will be no steady improvement in the children's condition. Until then it will remain possible, as it is to-day, for a Board of Guardians to make it a condition even of inadequate relief that school meals shall not be accepted; and it will be possible too, as it is now, for an Education Authority to refuse meals to those who are in receipt of parish pay.

So much for the ordinary out-relief children. What is to be said for the boarded-out? There are 6,000 of them boarded-out within the Union of Chargeability, and their treatment varies from

something which is very little better than is given to those who live in their own homes, to the level of the best of those cases which fall into the class of boarded without the Union of Chargeability. These are the children that the authorities always point to when they vaunt the virtues of the boarding-out system, and rightly. For these the Poor Law Authority requires homes in which there is plenty of air-space, the standard of housing being a high one, plenty of food, and a sufficiency of good clothing. They require also that the foster parents shall have an income already sufficient for their wants, a strictly limited number of children (if any), highly virtuous characters, and finally that they shall treat the children placed with them with a kindness and gentleness which implies a far higher level of self-control than we at present would dare to ask of a real parent. The foster parent is paid at the rate of 4s. or 5s. a week, which is certainly more than the best widow would get for her own children from the same authority. But then nothing is expected of the widow. There is no requirement of good housing, clothing, or food. Character goes for very little, while the fact that many parents on outdoor relief have been actually prosecuted by the N.S.P.C.C. is sufficient proof that Guardians do not consider it their duty in return for their doles to make sure that the children they pay for are kindly treated.

From this extreme of irresponsibility we may turn to the case of the indoor children who are kept within the workhouse. The great majority of these are in the workhouse nursery and are under three years of age. As such they are outside the scope of the school and so beyond the scope of this article. Of the older children it does not seem worth while to say much. In-

deed, it has been alleged that the workhouse atmosphere is negligible because in many cases the children get their schooling in the public Elementary Schools. But it has been shown that even in such cases, now the majority, the children are within the walls of the workhouse on every school holiday and are daily within sound and sight of all the evils of workhouse life. The scandal of their retention has been over and over again exposed. Its apologists are silenced, and it is realised as being unexcused and inexcusable.

The Poor Law Schools and Homes, however, are the constant subjects of admiration. About them the Guardians preserve an air of proud satisfaction which even the Majority Commissioners, with all their sweeping and often unfair condemnation of Guardians root and branch, have left undisturbed. It is therefore a question of the first importance to decide whether this praise is justified and whether there is really any reason to suppose that the Poor Law Authorities have shown themselves to be more fit to control and supervise them than would be the Education Department into whose care children would naturally fall.

Now, in the first place, all of these institutions have been founded in the belief that the first step towards bringing up a pauper child in a healthy fashion is to get him as far away as possible from pauperism and even a knowledge of the fact that he is a pauper. All the unpleasant associations with the idea of pauperism had to be preserved so as to deter grown-up people from becoming paupers. And yet admittedly these unpleasant ideas must not come near the child! Such a notion presupposes a mental and even physical isolation of child and adult with which

the real world is unacquainted. But in this special matter it introduces a peculiar difficulty. The proper relation between a supervisory and responsible authority and that which it supervises and is responsible for is one of the closest intercourse. No Poor Law Authority can properly administer an institution from which the official connection is being carefully hidden. Inspection becomes a farce or the connection with pauperdom becomes visible. But the Poor Law has indeed no one to make such inspections in anything like a skilled fashion. Neither the Central nor the local Poor Law Authorities have anything in the way of an education staff to do the work. It is true that the actual inspection of the classes is done by an expert, but he is the Inspector of the Board of Education and he is allowed to inspect teaching alone and may not even criticise the school accommodation. As to the wisdom of the general arrangements for the children's lives in these establishments, which are simply residential schools or boarding-houses, the Inspectors for General Purposes under the Poor Law Department of the Local Government Board are left to judge. This system is just as unreasonable and inefficient as the custom of having these same Inspectors for General Purposes to inspect the Poor Law hospitals and sick-wards. In short, the destitution service is not an education service, and we cannot fairly expect that the so-called expert in the former should be able to deal properly with the latter.

But there are other fundamental objections to Poor Law management. The Guardians have, it is true, made one successful invention—that of Scattered Homes. But the chief advantage of this is that the Poor Law has mighty

little to do with it. Such Homes consist of small houses scattered up and down a Union, each with from eight to a dozen children. They attend the ordinary schools, mix with their neighbours, and, except in being better fed, housed, and clothed, are not easily to be distinguished from the average working-class population. Supervision of these homes is a great difficulty for a Poor Law Authority which is trying to pretend that these homes have nothing to do with the Poor Law, and it is also difficult to find a house large enough and well-built enough in a working-class neighbourhood for a public authority to take over for the housing of the children within its care. Then, too, there is always the Workhouse in the background, the receiving ward through which the children passed on their way in, or the nursery in which they were brought up, or the wards in which their parents live or have died. The workhouse is there, too, for the children who are unsuccessful in later life to come back to when they are over sixteen years of age. Yet with all these inherent difficulties the Scattered Homes provide a really good attempt to bring up children who have no homes of their own in a natural fashion.

The other Homes of the Poor Law Authorities are single institutions, and with few exceptions are boarding-schools of the institution type. The few exceptions are those in which the Guardians house and board the children and the Education Authority teaches them. But even in these it is usual for the Poor Law to provide classes for what is termed industrial training. It does seem that on the whole there is a freer and more stimulating atmosphere in these schools where the children get some intercourse with the outer world. But it is not necessarily the case, for

where the school is a long distance off and the children have to make a long pilgrimage four times a day the whole routine is a machine-like rush to get through the day's work. The children are continually being marshalled for this and that from morn till night. And this idea of an almost military discipline, carried out by people for the most part quite untrained in all the higher branches of the teaching of children, makes all the Poor Law Homes and schools an affliction to the educationalist. It is almost a necessity in a school of the barrack type, but it would not seem to be needed in those of the Cottage Homes kind. These remarkably expensive institutions are in the nature of a village community of children who live in cottages scattered over the school grounds. In the effort to counteract the deadening influence of the barrack schools, with their machine-like discipline and small opportunity for the cultivation of individual initiative, the Poor Law Guardians have tried to develop what they regard as a home life in which initiative shall have free play. But their Cottage Homes can produce just the same faults. In general, indeed, they provide a painfully artificialised home where every cramping influence known to the aspiring lower middle classes is exaggerated to the utmost extent. Cleanliness, polish, useless ornament are carried to a point where they cease to be a pleasure and become a mere burden. The head of each house who plays the part of working house-keeper, but is officially named Mother, usually reproduces in her parlour all the sacred hideousness of the villa drawing-room. Bathing, washing, cleaning are made the first duty of the community, and carried out with a rigid exactness which makes them appear instead of a privilege

of civilisation, a penalty on decency. This is not the place to lay stress on the fact that it is upon the elder girls that the heat of the cleaning fever falls, and that by the continual drudgery of washing and scrubbing they are brought to look upon the sphere of women, and especially of domestic servants, for which they are all destined, as a continual round of tedious duties to which they look forward only because the servant at least has a night out. It is rather with the training of boys that this book deals.

For what, then, is it that the Poor Law boy is given an industrial training? In every Union, of course, there are variations, but in general terms it may be said that in Poor Law Schools the band is the most important feature. It is important first because it is especially the pride of the Guardians, who like to have a fine, showy brass band to turn out and make a grand flare when they visit the school. It gives a spirit and life to the place and greatly increases what may be called its rateable popularity. But it is also important because the boys who play in the band are well equipped for the Army. It is usually only those who consent either themselves or through their parents to enlist that are trained in the band at all. They begin their training sometimes at the early age of eight, when doubtless their consent to the Army proposal is a well-thought-out one! It is not musical ability, therefore, but military ardour which gives a boy the very great privilege of playing in the band. Probably there is no more educative influence than music, and it improves the boys physically as well. It is a pleasant sight, and it is no wonder the Guardians like to watch it, to see the forty or so of boys standing to their horns and trumpets and blowing for all they are worth.

The swing and blare of the music seems to raise their spirits and their vigour. But the musical education of the rest appears to suffer from this show system just as the general teaching of gymnastics does by over-attention to a special squad for show turns.

After the band the two commonest trades are shoemaking and tailoring. Both have the double advantage of being useful in the Army and being useful in the school. It very often happens, indeed, that the only shoemaking taught is the cobbling of the school boots, and the only tailoring the mending of the school clothes. From the point of view of after-employment, it often happens that the training in these workshops is practically useless outside the Army, because the tools are not those in use for ordinary trade purposes and the teaching is not of the best class. But in any case, it is not easy, if possible, to find a good-class tradesman who is ready to take an indoor apprentice, and the Guardians cannot apprentice in other ways. Of course they do sometimes find other ways of getting them placed, but shoemaking is neither a very popular nor promising trade in most parts of the country. It should be noted that while in a few schools a great variety of trades is taught, metal-work, carpentry, and painting being among them, in all it tends to be that poor sort of technical training which is only rule of thumb or has an excrescence of theory taught by men who only observe the rule of thumb. It is, in fact, just the kind of teaching that advanced educationalists are trying to get rid of. Nor does it seem that it is customary to consult a boy's own tastes. He is put into this or that workshop just as he is needed, and if the first few have a choice it is at least certain that as the workshop fills up

they must take what is given them. In some localities where there is a special industry the boys go straight to it without any pretence at technical training. Thus in a coal district it is usual to apprentice the boys to a coal-miner, to make them, in fact, underground apprentices. The coal-miner likes to have a boy and as many as he can get with him, but he does not always fulfil his bond and teach the boy the trade. In one district, where there are miners on the Board of Guardians, it has been found much simpler to enforce it, as they manage to keep an eye on the lads. But scattered far and wide there are Poor Law boys as errand-boys, farm hands, soldiers, sailors, fisher-boys on trawlers, emigrants in Canada, and everything else from shop-boys to Stock Exchange clerks; and any work in a Poor Law School may be turned into industrial training, so that even the boys who weigh out the sugar in the storeroom are said to be "training as grocers' assistants"!

Indeed, so much is the fetish of industrial training exalted that schoolroom learning is rather contemptuously treated. Here the Poor Law boy suffers a great deal from the isolation of the Poor Law service. Even the technical training does not draw the best of teachers. For one thing the Guardians usually want a practical man who can get through a lot of work as well as teach, and not infrequently the trade teachers are the husbands of the Cottage Home mothers. Such men must not only be qualified in their trade, but must have a capable official mother for wife, and certainly not more than one child, if even one is allowed. But even more restricted is the choice of other teachers. Apart from the question of salaries, which are on the whole lower all round than the salaries of teachers in the Education

service, the Poor Law teaching is in many ways unattractive. The teacher's work is hampered by the fact that the most promising children are often put on half-time at an early age, and anyhow stop schooling at the legal limit. This is for the most part in order that they may have industrial training, but in one school at least some are half-timers so that they may assist in household duties of washing and scrubbing. To be called away to such work as this may make the schoolroom seem an attractive place, but it does not as a rule compete well against the workshop, where the boy has a chance of making things and a much easier discipline than is possible in the Poor Law schoolroom. For this is usually the least well-equipped department, and it is very often undermanned. It is common for a teacher to have two classes at a time, while in some there are only two teachers for the whole six standards. As to the seventh standard, that is practically never found on the girls' side and very seldom on the boys'. But even when the schools are sufficiently staffed there are certain disadvantages which belong to the Poor Law service. Not only do those Unions which do possess a school have only the one, but there is very little interchange between one Poor Law School and another, and none between these schools and the schools outside. Teachers come from the Education service, but they do not go back again. Thus promotion becomes narrowed down to the one institution, and the chance of promotion lies in the power of pleasing a single body of Guardians, who are without educational knowledge and from whom there is no appeal. The teacher in the Poor Law School is thus isolated and his energies confined to a single educational unit. It is little

wonder that there is but a poor tradition in the service. The old notion of combining teacher and caretaker and keeping the teacher with the children day and night is passing away, and "living in" is very rare, but there are still a large number of untrained teachers and such may still be appointed. In many cases it is the heads of these institutions who are quite unqualified, partly because they are the oldest in the service and partly because the duties of their post being largely administrative, an inexperienced body such as the Guardians thinks of them more as akin to those of a workhouse master than a headmaster. But the Guardians do not, of course, get the chance of appointing the best men or women in the education world because it is only those who think they have no chance of promotion outside that will seek a Poor Law post. Still, it is a fact that the Guardians do not realise that a highly trained and experienced educationalist is needed to run a boarding-school even if the children are taught elsewhere. In all these matters it suffers from being a destitution authority and not an education one. Where it has neglected its children, as it has those on out-relief, the Education Authority has already had to come to their assistance. Where it has done its best by them, as it has by the children in the Scattered Homes, the Education Authority has done the teaching for them. Whatever the Guardians have done has had the ugly trail of a pauper authority upon it, and the case for their supersession by the Education Authority is complete.

But will not that bring its own problems for solution? Will not this change show with startling clearness the need for greater changes still?

The children of widows and all those who are bereft of a breadwinner are already the recipients of State help. The disgrace of their treatment by the Poor Law has been laid bare by the Poor Law Commission. It is impossible for any nation with an eye to national wealth, to say nothing of self-respect, to let this shameful and devastating misery of child pauperism go on. All the worse is it that those wretched out-relief children contrast so cruelly with the well-fed and well-housed children in Poor Law institutions, and that for so long the public has been content to accept the latter picture as typical of the Guardians' dealings with children. Now that we have seen them side by side we can no longer allow a single authority to continue making these invidious distinctions. But still greater will be this need of uniform treatment when all these children, together with all the others in the Elementary Schools, become the responsibility of the Education Authority. The children who are now the out-relief children will have to be placed on at least an equality with the boarded-out children. With proper care and supervision there is not the least reason to continue the cruel method of breaking up the home and sending children to live in institutions. In the day-schools they will be under continual oversight, and it will be a comparatively simple matter to find out if the maintenance allowance given to the parent is being used for the child's good. It will only be necessary to take away a child when it is found that the conditions of the home are hopelessly bad. But some boarding-schools there must be for these children and for those who are orphaned or deserted.

This seems very simple, but contemplate for a moment what will be the picture presented by the ordinary day-school.

There will be the State-maintained child side by side with the rest. Surely it would be intolerable that when the State pays maintenance for a child every opportunity should not be given for it to grow up healthy, capable and self-supporting. To this end it will be necessary that the Education Authority assure itself that the home environment is free from the baser vices, that it is not in an over-crowded and insanitary slum, that the child has sufficient food and clothing, enough sleep, and as much medical attendance as it happens to need. But with all this tender care of the State child, what of the vast mass who are still going the way of their parents with scarcely any chance of health and happiness? What of the vast mass living in unhealthy homes, having unhealthy or insufficient food, having vicious or stupid or neglectful parents or merely unfortunate ones? It would surely once more be intolerable that it should be left to the chance of complete economic overthrow or proved moral turpitude whether the children who sit by the side of the State-maintained children in the schools should or should not be equally the responsibility of the nation.

There is little doubt that in the end that full responsibility must be undertaken and the school play a far more watchful part in caring for the children. But it is not in a moment that the school can thus become the great means of raising the national standard. There is, for example, the ever-pressing question in urban areas of crowded houses and mean streets. So long as the children spend their days in these so long will our population be an unhealthy one. But there is no way to-day of starting out to rebuild in a moment our courts and alleys. We have instead to make the best of our schools

as a means of keeping children out of them, and, what is more, of educating them out of putting up with them. At present there is no way of making the inside of children's homes clean and comfortable. We have instead to create in them an idea of how a home can be both clean and comfortable. We have to destroy the old early Victorian convention of the stuffy and hideous in household arrangement. We have to create a liking for fresh air and good ventilation and for useful furnishings which are not ugly. We cannot all at once develop a desire for careful cooking and well-served and orderly meals. We cannot all at once revolutionise the traditional methods of clothing a child in several layers of cotton instead of a very few of wool. We cannot, in fact, all in a moment find everybody enjoying the decencies of civilised life as the comfortable classes of to-day can enjoy them. We cannot even make the poor folk of the world want them with any real desire because their poverty prevents them from getting hold of them and experimenting in them for themselves. It is impossible for them even to get the necessary house room to live decently, or to develop their faculties sufficiently to want to. But all these things could be provided in the mass on a wholesale scale. If one generation were brought up to want them the next generation would take them.

Already the schools have commenced this wholesale provision of pleasant and healthy interests and habits. The school meals, for example, can be made thus educational, and the ordinary school work can create better ideas of life than the children could get elsewhere. Singing, drawing, and games can be turned to wonderfully real uses. But infinitely more could

be done if there were more space and more time to do it in. The school to-day should be a place where the children could learn all sorts of pleasant things. In the school baths they should get the habit of liking plenty of bathing and begin to feel aggrieved when a daily bath was not to be got. In the school dining-room they could begin to feel the comfort and jolliness of good table manners, of being neat and clean with food, and of having company about them. They should learn, too, that good meals were a necessity of healthy lives and that to have enough to eat is a fair demand of a working citizen. And then there should be play-rooms as well as schoolrooms, and everywhere there should be such a thoroughly good system of ventilation that the close and stuffy home would be intolerable. Not only that, but no school should have any ugly or poor furniture, and the carpenters' shops should be cleared of all their little abominations in the way of what-nots and fancy brackets. Have children living in such schools and the social revolution would be upon us. But to get the full force of the school's influence the first important step is to lengthen the hours considerably. The English convention is that school hours should last from nine to twelve and from two till four. But this is only a convention, and it would be far better that the hours should be in one stretch from 9 to 5.30. As dinner would be at school in the middle of the day, the long interval would be unnecessary, and by a far more frequent alternation of work and play the teachers and children both would be materially relieved. To most of the teachers the school day consists of two rushing full-packed periods, during which they have not rest for a moment to think or

follow what they are doing. But if after every lesson came a time for relaxation—not merely a variation of curriculum, which rests the child far more than the teacher—the service would suffer far less from nerve strain. At the present time the lessons that may seem so long to the children usually mean a struggle against time for the teacher. What is pressingly needed is more “standing at ease,” as it were, and a chance, too, to get to know the children as individuals outside lesson-time in the play-rooms and play-grounds. Such a time-table would give far greater opportunity for moral teaching than any amount of Cowper-Templeism.

The basis of any such scheme is that the school should teach the children how to live—that it should give them the chance to find a decent way not only of earning their living but of enjoying it. Of course if the schools were to be so transformed some rate-payers would grumble a great deal, and so would the children’s parents. One can almost hear them talking about it, hear the way they will grudge Tommy and Eliza the advantages they never had themselves. “Getting so fine, they are,” so they will complain, “nothing at home’s good enough for them now.”

Well, that is the best thing that could happen.

XII

CHILDREN'S CARE COMMITTEES

BY REV. W. H. H. ELLIOTT, M.A., *Head of
Cambridge House.*

MOVEMENTS towards social reform often come about in four stages. First, the need is discovered and felt. Second, individuals attempt to grapple with the problem. Third, the State experiments on what seem the best lines marked out by individual effort. Fourth, a remedy, perfect so far as is possible, is found. The history of the feeding of necessitous children has so far followed this general rule, and has now reached the third stage.

The argument that it was a waste of public money to pay teachers and maintain expensive schools for many children whose physical condition prevented them from profiting by their education at school, led in 1906 to the Education (Provision of Meals) Act. Up to that time hundreds of children had been given free meals by means of voluntary associations and private effort. But much as they did, they could not do all.

The working of the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, was put in the hands of the county Education Authorities—this for London being the London County Council. Underfed

children by the Act might be fed, and if necessary a $\frac{1}{2}$ d. rate might be raised. The regulations under the Act and subsequent developments were left to the Education Authorities. Thus a uniform system has not been arrived at in different parts of the country, and doubtless this is in itself good, since the needs of one neighbourhood differ from that of another. In London the County Council tried to work the Act with money raised by voluntary subscription. This is probably the first instance of the cost of a scheme carried through Parliament being thrown on the offerings of the charitable. The need, however, proved too great a strain, the requisite amount of money was not collected, and the permissive $\frac{1}{2}$ d. rate in London is being raised.

Briefly, the Council's scheme at first was that in every school in which necessitous children were found, a Care Committee was to be formed. This committee was to consist of such managers of the school as would serve, such teachers as would consent to act, and others co-opted. Their duties were to receive, investigate, and decide applications made to them for free meals; to arrange for a supply of food and the feeding of the children; and to make a demand on the Council's Voluntary Fund for the amount required each fortnight. The Council's wishes with regard to feeding, and who was to be fed, were to be communicated to the Care Committees.

On broad principles every necessitous child, no matter from what cause, was to be fed. Every parent whose child was being fed was to be informed that he was liable for the recovery of the cost of the food. Cases in which the necessity of the child was directly due to the neglect or wilfulness of the parent were to be fed, and the

parent pressed for payment, and if necessary prosecuted.

This experiment in practice has proved a failure. Managers of schools did not welcome the extra work which Care Committees involved, and in some cases no committees were formed in schools where necessitous children were to be found. In others, where a committee existed, the work fell largely on the shoulders of the head teachers. But willing as they were, they had no time for visiting and making inquiries. The report of the school attendance officer was often the only information as to the home conditions of the applicant at the disposal of the committee. And this was unsatisfactory; first, because presumably the attendance officer only knows the children who are irregular at school, and these are not necessarily the only necessitous; and, secondly, because his point of view is essentially an official one. The attendance officer rarely, if ever, enters a house; he makes his inquiries on the doorstep. In the case of some schools, but only comparatively a few, a careful investigation was carried out by voluntary helpers. Last, this experiment failed in its financial bearing. The County Council could not raise sufficient funds to carry out the work, probably because people will not subscribe voluntarily for a measure which may be paid for out of the rates.

This experiment, therefore, has been dropped, and new regulations for the whole scheme were issued by the London County Council, and came into force nominally in July, 1909, practically at the end of the summer holiday. It will be seen that for the future a much wider scope has been given to the new committees, and that the whole work of the committees has been

very much developed. Instead of a regulation which practically made the appointment of a Care Committee for a school optional on the part of the managers, now every school has to have a committee whether necessitous children attend or not. The committee is composed of several of the local school managers and a certain number, proportional to the number of managers, of voluntary workers approved by the Children's Care (Central) Sub-Committee of the Education Committee of the London County Council. There are in London, roughly speaking, one thousand Public Elementary Schools, and since the Council appoint not more than six nor less than four voluntary workers from their "list" to each School Committee, they appealed in May, 1909, for some five thousand such workers. It is significant that in answer to their appeal they obtained more names of those willing to serve than were required. This fact alone marks an advance in the general spirit of the age. It is doubtful whether such an appeal made, say, ten years ago would have met with such a response.

Each school, then, has its Care Committee. In each district in London, roughly corresponding to the borough boundaries, there is formed a "Local Association of Care Committees," twenty-seven in all. The School Committee is then responsible to the Local Association, and the Local Association directly to the Children's Care (Central) Sub-Committee of the London County Council.

The duties of the Care Committees now are :

1. To interest themselves in the general welfare of the children of the schools.
2. To endeavour to induce parents to obtain

the advice and treatment recommended in the medical report-book of the school, and to confer with the school nurses.

3. To determine what children are necessitous.
4. To notify the Local Association of Children's Care (School) Committees as to the number of children to be fed.
5. To advise and help parents in connection with the after-employment of children, referring suitable cases to the local Apprenticeship Committees, and generally to befriend children with useful advice and guidance.

The duties of Local Associations of Care Committees are—

1. To collect voluntary contributions.
2. To disburse all advances made by the Council.
3. To arrange and manage the feeding centres.
4. To discuss the methods governing the selection of necessitous children in their districts, the after-care and disposal of children after leaving school, the employment and apprenticeship of children, and generally questions affecting the physical welfare of the children.
5. To report when considered desirable to the Children's Care (Central) Sub-Committee upon these questions.

This scheme is a large one and includes much more than feeding the underfed. In fact, some committees probably consider this far from the most important of their duties. But all that is contained in this new experiment is badly

wanted. One only wonders whether, if the committees try to do all that is set out, they may fail in the attempt to do so much. Next to this should be noted the fact that head teachers and others in the employ of the London County Council are no longer eligible for membership of the committees. The Council have taken up the position, logically correct, that since in future the cost of the scheme is to be borne by the rates, those who are paid from the rates should have no official position on the committees. It is hoped that head teachers give the committees the benefit of their knowledge of the children; from one point of view no one knows them better than their teachers, but no teacher has a vote on the committee. This position may or may not be right, but it at once raises the question—Who is going to do the work of the committees?

In the voluntary stage all the work was done by the teachers; in the next stage, the Council's first experiment, many schools relied on work by the teachers, and in all schools the teachers still did a great deal. But now that they no longer have any position on the committee, is it to be expected that they will still do what they have done in the past? It is hoped that the voluntary workers will do this, but many of them must have already as much as they can do, and the result of the first experiment seemed to show that they were then not prepared to do very much. Now, however, the voluntary workers are much more in number than before.

The scope of the work is wide. Parents cannot be advised without being approached in their own homes, for London parents are not so anxious for advice that they will, of their own accord, come to a committee. Advice

about employment and apprenticeship means some knowledge at any rate of the industrial conditions and needs of the day: while the endeavour to induce parents to follow the treatment recommended by the school doctor or nurse presupposes some knowledge of what that direction means. But the whole is an attack at its very roots on some of the gravest evils of the age—the physical degeneration of our children, and the carelessness about a child's first work, which so often means under-employment or unemployment when grown up. It is an honest attempt and an experiment likely to succeed and to effect untold good if the voluntary workers are prepared to train themselves or be trained, and put themselves at the service of the country's children.

One other point of criticism might be made about the scheme besides the exclusion of the teachers from the committees, but it must be remembered that this scheme of the Council, the second they have tried, is also an experiment, and as such weak points may be strengthened when experience shows such strengthening to be wise. The basis of administration of the scheme is made the school, each individual school. Each School Care Committee, for example, is to decide which children are necessitous. And though at first sight this sounds wise and natural, it may be found to be attended with difficulties in London. It is no uncommon thing to find children from the same family attending different schools. This may be accounted for partly by the difficulty of obtaining vacancies in certain schools—especially is this the case with schools which have a reputation for doing well—and partly by the fact that the population in London is so shifting that families move about ; one child at school remains

at the same school he previously attended, the next child, reaching school age, goes to the school nearest his new home. And this constitutes a difficulty, for as many Care Committees will be visiting the home as the number of different schools the children attend. So overlapping occurs ; and the result is, first, the minimum of effort is not expended for the maximum amount of good ; second, inequality of treatment may occur, one committee deciding a child to be necessitous, another the reverse ; and, third, the " advice and guidance " of different and voluntary workers to the same parent may be confusing.

This difficulty might be overcome in one or two ways. First, by a system of transference, whereby children from the same family attending different schools should be dealt with by the Care Committee of the school at which the eldest attends. This, however, would be involved, and would so add to the work of the different committees that it is scarcely practicable. Continuity of visiting and advice is almost essential, and this would probably be broken as children left school or moved even to another part of the same district.

Second, by making the basis of administration of the scheme the area and not the school. This would do away with the double organisation of Care Committee and Local Association, and in its place there would be one committee for the area of the existing Local Association. Voluntary workers would then work directly under the one committee in the area or borough, and would be assigned districts or schools. This would mean that, as before, certain workers would still be attached to the schools in which they took special interest. It would centralise

the work and ensure a minimum of overlapping. And it might make the position of the head teachers a little easier. At present it is true to say that they have done the bulk of the work, and that for many years past. Now they are supplanted, and others, in their own school, even in their own private head teachers' rooms, do the work, and they can have no voice. A central office for each area or borough, or group of schools, would, in addition to other advantages, carry on and develop the work which they have started so well, and would do it in some other place than the teachers' private room. Whether the scheme will develop into some such form as this remains to be seen.

There remains one further difficulty of which mention must be made; and that is, in what relation the Council should stand to the Guardians in the matter of feeding necessitous children. The position is this: the Boards of Guardians in London relieve many children in their own homes. Relief is given, with a few exceptions, more or less on a stereotyped scale of so much a child; this averages for a family on out-relief 1s. 6d. a head a week in money and kind, for each child of school age. In many cases, if not in all, this relief is inadequate, and in consequence the Care Committee classes the children as necessitous, and proceeds to feed them. Thus a dual machinery is set in motion, each relieving inadequately the same children, a state of affairs obviously unsatisfactory to both parties. Neither authority at present has dealt thoroughly with the situation, and individual Care Committees adopt different practices. Some refuse to feed the children and notify the Guardians; others ignore altogether the fact of relief from the Poor Law, though with a twinge of conscience, regarding

the children as necessitous, and feeding them on the same principle as any others ; while others again, it is to be feared, boldly say that the parents should get as much as they can from everybody. Some uniform policy will shortly have to be determined, and until the whole question of the Poor Law comes under revision, it would seem the better plan to leave the relief of these children to the Guardians, who have the power to relieve adequately if they like to use it, and let the onus of the responsibility rest upon them.

Such is the scheme and work of the Children's Care Committee in London. In the provinces the City of Bradford has led the way as far as school feeding goes. The scheme there was a bold one which met with much criticism at its inauguration, but now is being copied by other towns. Results certainly prove that it makes for the better physique of the children and efficiency at school, but it is open to question whether this is not done at the expense of parental responsibility. The same lessons with regard to proper and nourishing feeding taught in the central kitchen might surely be taught to the parents in their homes with the same happy result.

For the provision of meals Bradford has one central cooking depôt at which all the food is cooked, and then taken to the various dining-rooms situated in different places in the city. The meals are made as educative as possible—clean tablecloths and flowers are provided on the tables ; good manners and order are insisted upon ; teachers assist with the service of meals and are paid a small honorarium : the elder girls help them. Attention is paid to a varied diet, and dinner consists of two courses. Free breakfasts are also provided, but not for so large a number as the dinners.

The Education Committee appealed for funds to carry out the Act by voluntary subscription, but, as in London, this proved inadequate and permission was given by the Board of Education to raise a $\frac{1}{2}$ d. rate. This, however, seems too to be insufficient at Bradford.

No children are fed whose parents are in receipt of relief from the parish. When a child applies for free dinners, the case is considered by a sub-committee, and, if fed, is placed in one of these classes.

1. The class in which the meals are quite free.
2. The class in which some charge is made to the parents.
3. The class in which the whole cost is charged to the parents.

The proportion, according to the last report of the Education Committee, in the different classes works out at 85·5 per cent. in class 1 : 90 per cent. in class 2 : $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in class 3. There is great difficulty, however, in the recovery of the whole cost in class 3, and as a result the parents often withdraw their children from being fed.

In addition to these children, any parent on prepaying the whole cost may have his child fed at the school dining-room. This regulation, too, has also been made in London. Each case is reconsidered once a month by the committee, and if thought fit is re-assessed or placed in another class. For the purpose of feeding there is no distinction between the several classes. A return as to the working of the Act in Bradford was ordered to be printed in April, 1909. This shows that in actual practice on March 31,

1909, 2,897 children were being fed. Of these 23 were cases in which the parents were expected to pay the whole cost—67 were cases of voluntary full payment—59 were those assessed at part payment. The total cost of a meal is 1·88d., and of this the actual cost of food only amounts to 1·1d.

Such is the Bradford scheme in short—its details are many and as far as possible make for model conditions of kitchen, dining-rooms, and service.

The whole scheme of Care Committees and their possible development throughout the country make it most important that voluntary and regular help should be given. The effort that is being made is one that strikes at the very root of many of the evils of the day. Ill-nourished children cannot benefit by their time at the Elementary School—they leave in the same condition to face the problems of work and industry: what wonder that so many are unfit to live their lives to the best purpose for the well-being of all.

In these days we pride ourselves that we are realising more than ever before that a nation's children are one of its greatest assets. The Care Committees under the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, offer an opportunity for real solid work to many a person who is anxious to do something for the good of his fellow-men. The experiments, for so they are at present, are full of promise, and are such that they must improve the physical and mental condition of the children of our country, so that when they leave the Elementary School they may have the stamina to face the problems of work and manhood not handicapped by an ill-nourished body and a weak mind.

XIII

HOMES FOR WORKING BOYS

BY REV. W. H. H. ELLIOTT, M.A., *Head of Cambridge House*

THE problem of the boy over school age whose parents are dead, or who has been left alone in the world for any other reason, is a difficult one. Private effort in the shape of orphanages for waifs and strays, and public effort by means of various schemes—District Schools, Scattered Homes, Cottage Homes, Training Ships, and Boarding Out—have cared for the homeless child still of school age. Reformatories and Industrial Schools have dealt with the criminal child of a little older, or those charged in the police-courts with petty offences. But all for the most part have taken up the line that as soon as a child has reached that age when by law he may take his place in the industrial world, he is fit to take care of himself.

In the times when the old system of apprenticeship was in vogue, this was perhaps a fairly safe thing to do, for the child often was apprenticed to some master with whom he lived as one of the family, bound under strict indentures which even compelled his attendance at some place of worship at least once each Sunday. But the decay of this old system has led to new conditions of employment. Capital has shown

a tendency to exploit the young worker, and apprentices or learners to-day are often just a collection of units lacking any individuality of their own.

This, then, largely accounts for the fact that there exist to-day numbers of boys, between the ages of fourteen and twenty, who have no home, and who, if left to themselves to pick up a living in the streets or at some occupation which will at once bring in a sufficient wage to provide for the necessities of life, rapidly deteriorate and become unemployed and unemployable. These boys may be divided for the sake of clearness into three classes :—

1. Those discharged at fourteen or a little over from institutions whether public or private.
2. Those who during their school time have lived with their parents or relations, but whom death or desertion has left alone in the world between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. The number of these boys, however, is comparatively small, and would not itself constitute a serious problem.
3. Those who have cast off parental control of their own accord, and have gone to live "on their own" either because they cannot get on with their parents or because of overcrowding, restraint, and uncomfortable conditions at home. To these may be added country boys who come to London or the big towns because of the wealth which they think lies in store for them there.

The alternatives for all these boys are few. A precarious living may perhaps provide lodg-

ing and food with some landlady, but leads to nothing except casual work when grown up. The workhouse is open to receive them, but there can be scarcely a worse preparation for life's work than any time spent in the day-rooms and dormitories of a workhouse. The common lodging-house is shut to them till they become sixteen, and then is, perhaps, even worse than the workhouse.

To meet this need, then, Homes for working boys were started some twenty years ago, their object being not merely to provide a lodging, but a home in every sense of the word—a home from which a boy might go to work and learn some trade or business to fit him for life as a man, and a home to which in after years he could look back and feel that without it he could not have had that measure of success in life which was his.

There are many such Homes all over the country, and particularly in London, some of them the outcome of private enthusiasm, others managed by committees who appeal to the public for funds, or by societies partly or wholly endowed. This fact, and taking into consideration that there is no kind of Government inspection or supervision over such Homes (unless as in one or two cases they are certified by the Local Government Board), means a lack of uniformity in the different methods employed. Some Homes, for example, are large, accommodating several hundred boys, others are small, admitting only fifteen or twenty. In some strict discipline is enforced and boys order their lives in accordance with rule and regulation; others, on the contrary, have aimed at family life as the ideal, and as nearly approach this as it is possible to do. These Homes in consequence have practically

no rules ; the tradition of the past serves as a guide to the present. Some Homes have made religion the "all" of the Home at the expense of the other parts of a boy's nature. Some have made athletics, games, and a boy's physique their chief object. That this lack of uniformity has been a bad thing no one would assert. Homes for working boys have been very much in an experimental stage, and till experience has shown what is best any cause suffers loss if experiments are suppressed. But it would seem that this experimental stage was now almost passing away, and sufficient time has elapsed since the movement started to judge of results by the after-lives of boys who have passed through different Homes ; and it would seem as though a fairly definite line could now be drawn as a standard of economic efficiency. Every experiment from its results can point to some good, and such an experiment as this, dealing as it does with human life, can produce in all its phases individuals whose success in life is entirely due to the time spent in the special Home in question : but, as might be expected, some experiments have proved more fruitful than others.

The Home that is quite small would seem to be the best because of the real spirit of "home" which exists in those places where this has been aimed at, and because of the very close personal touch with which the head of the Home can come in contact with his boys. The larger the Home, the more institutional it necessarily becomes, and proportionately the less expensive. Life by hard rule is not the ideal to which people naturally tend. And if this is not the case with the larger Homes a sort of chaos seems to be the result. Boys, for example, are expected to be indoors at such an hour ; till

that hour they remain in the streets ; the Home to them is a convenience to which they resort for the purpose of eating and sleeping, and instead of being a home in the highest sense of the word, it becomes to them rather an ordinary lodging-house. It is difficult to see how this can be otherwise. The argument that the Home is dealing with boys in large numbers and that it is better to give the many a chance rather than the few is a strong one ; but that it is inadequate seems to be the case ; for in many instances it is found that a boy gets the same kind of work that he would if he were in lodgings alone ; he kicks against the discipline he finds and after a few months leaves the Home little better off in any way than if he had never been admitted. The smaller the Home, however, and the more homelike it is, seems to mean that the boys stay as long as they are allowed, in some cases for five or six years. The influence borne upon them in this time is probably lasting ; at any rate there can be no doubt that a great change does take place in a boy's whole view of life and manners. His ideals are raised and individual attention supplies what is lost by the death or disappearance of his own parents. Such is the answer to the charge that it is not economically sound to spend so much money and time on the few that are cared for in the smaller Working Boys' Home : and it is reasonable, too, to suppose that the lasting influence on the few does not begin and end with the boys in question. In after-life they scatter over the face of the world and in their turn must be the means of bringing the influence of the Home to bear upon all those with whom they come in contact.

The problem of the small and large Home

is not the same as the problem of the small and large club. In some ways the characteristics of the two are alike; all the ordinary activities of a club take place in the Home, but the difference lies in the fact that whereas in the club the manager has often to counteract bad home influence, in the Home he has to create a good home influence. In the one case, that is, externals play a large part, in the other external influence, other than that of the workshop, which is common to both, plays a very unimportant part.

The small Home, then, seems to have proved itself the more efficient. It may become almost natural, with the real family spirit, and all that it implies; while individual attention means, the placing of a boy at the work which will suit him best, and the opportunity of developing whatever latent capabilities he may possess.

Again, this lack of uniformity is due, not only to the different sizes of the existing Homes for Working Boys, but also to the difference in the boys themselves. The Homes are all alike in that they deal with the destitute and homeless boy, but the boy himself is of one class or another. The experiment which intermingled in one Home these different types of boys was not a success. Instead of uplifting the weaker it lowered the stronger boy. A rough division distinguishes between—

(1) The criminal and semi-criminal boy or the boy charged for the first time with some petty offence; (2) the physically weak boy; (3) the mentally deficient boy; (4) the boy of good character but low standard at school; and (5) the boy of good character and high standard at school. This classification naturally affects the character of the Home. The mentally

weak boy cannot be treated in the same way as the sound and brilliant boy; and this consideration has sometimes been forgotten when Homes dealing with the former boys have been perhaps hardly criticised.

But this classification is not altogether satisfactory, and a better system would be to classify the Homes according to the work which they expect the boys to do. The Homes then divide themselves into six groups, two groups being subdivided, as follows;—

1. Homes in which trades are taught on the premises.
 - (a) Homes for physically sound.
 - (b) Homes for physically weak.
2. Homes in which rough work—*e.g.*, wood-chopping—is done on the premises.
3. Homes which employ boys on the premises preparatory to emigration.
4. Homes which send boys out to work as shoeblacks, each with their regular “pitches.”
5. Homes which send boys out to domestic work.
6. Homes which send boys out to workshops and factories.
 - (a) The boy responsible for the work sought and found.
 - (b) The Home responsible for the work sought and found.

1. Homes in which boys are taught trades on the premises. These Homes are for the most part the large Homes with paid officials in charge. Their work amongst the physically sound is chiefly the teaching of printing, boot-making, tailoring, &c. The actual work done for

the most part meets the demand of the society which finances the Home, and so does not compete with outside labour, though necessarily displacing it to a certain degree. It is said that the boys are well taught, and have little difficulty in obtaining permanent employment as men. The Homes which deal in this way with cripples and others physically weak do a good work, inasmuch as recent legislation has made it increasingly difficult for such boys to obtain regular training at an ordinary workshop.

2. Homes in which rough, unskilled work is done scarcely comes under the category of Working Boys' Homes. They are mostly Labour Homes in which a boy stays for a short time only. As soon as the superintendent can hear of an opening in the country or merchant service he immediately sends away the boy most suitable for the situation. In this way many a boy gets a fresh start in life after having committed some indiscretion or other. The superintendent more or less keeps in touch for a time with the boys who have passed through his hands, but the boys themselves never regard the Home as their home; and so, though they undoubtedly do good and necessary work, they cannot really claim the title of Boys' Home.

3. Those Homes which have for their purpose the emigration of their boys doubtless supply a need which is felt. Whatever the merits of emigration, and the statistical results which such Homes publish, such does not concern us at present. It is obvious that such institutions, however valuable their work, are not "Homes" in the ordinary sense of the word.

4. Again, those Homes which send boys out as shoeblacks do not aim in the first instance at being Homes, but rather as being the means of

providing lucrative work for a class of boy with whom it is otherwise difficult to deal. Such Homes are said to be almost, if not quite, self-supporting.

5. Several Homes exist for the purpose of supplying families with casual daily servants. One such Home issued a Report which stated that "boys may be hired for general domestic duties, such as cleaning boots, knives, doorsteps, scouring and hearth-stoning, cleaning cisterns, washing dogs, polishing furniture and floors, washing-up and carrying-up, chopping wood, gardening, &c., at 6d. per hour. . . . Invalids, careful boys for bath-chairs, 8d. per hour. . . . Bicycles cleaned, 6d. each."

The washing of a dog or the cleaning of a bicycle would not seem to be the best training for the after-life of a boy, for in addition to the fact that such work is entirely unskilled, it savours of the other evils of casual labour, since a boy is not likely to be employed continually every day of every week, and the habit of regular, steady work cannot be formed. It is stated that many boys from these Homes go into regular indoor domestic service or to the Army, and a registry is kept of all old boys who are changing or seeking fresh situations. Even so it cannot be denied that such a system of dealing with homeless boys runs great risk; and whether it is legitimate that the risk should be run is at least open to question.

6. The majority of Homes for Working Boys send their boys out to work, as any other boy from his own home, at workshops or factories in the vicinity of the Home if possible. These Homes are divided as far as the work problem goes into two divisions. First, those in which the boy himself is made responsible for the work

he obtains ; and, second, those in which the head of the Home is responsible for the work of all the boys. It is agreed that it is not right to give a boy in a Home advantages over the boy whose parents are alive and who is living with them. In this latter case the boy with but little forethought for the future, and his parents with less, takes whatever work happens to come along. In some cases he has a vague idea that he would like to be a clerk or an engineer, but this soon vanishes when he hears of work which for the present means higher wages ; and so he takes that, leaving the future to chance. It is said that the boy in the Home should be treated in the same way as though in his own home, and so Homes in this subdivision send a boy out to seek for work himself, sometimes giving him a card which he may present to any employer stating that he resides in such-and-such a Home, and that the superintendent recommends him for any situation which he is offered. In certain individual cases the superintendent will get work of more or less a satisfactory nature, but even then the onus rests to an extent upon the boy in question. In some Homes a boy failing to keep his situation is dismissed if at the end of two weeks he has not found other employment. The result of this method is, that often a boy gets exactly the same kind of work as he would if he were in lodgings alone ; his wages, because of the unskilled nature of the work, rise rapidly to a point ; he feels then that he can live in lodgings with more freedom, and so he leaves the Home before there has been time to influence him to any permanent degree.

The alternative system studies the boy's character and capabilities and then places him out in work with good prospects for the future

in accordance with his ability. All that is required of the boy is that he should do his level best at his work ; he may not leave his situation without the consent of the head of the Home ; and if for any reason he has to leave his work, he is not turned out of the Home because he is out of work for any length of time. This system involves a careful study of modern industry and its likely development, and requires much more time and trouble on the part of the manager of the Home ; but that this trouble is amply repaid, results show.

Unfortunately, the first system is that in general vogue. If comparison with the boys is at all legitimate in the problem of the finding of employment, rather than condone what all acknowledge to be a bad practice, it is better on every ground to set a good example even though the standard be high.

A Home for boys differs from a club chiefly inasmuch as a Home has to care for every part of a boy's life. A club may leave many sides alone on the ground that it is the duty of the parents to supply these, but a Home cannot shirk the responsibility of the whole. So a well-directed Home is a more complex piece of machinery than the average club. The Home must be as natural as possible, and if this is to be so there must be a religious side. Not a few Homes are managed on what are called very definite High Church lines ; in these the family ideal is always held up before the boys, and in several instances is reached in a remarkable way. Many others are called undenominational, though in practice most of the boys attend the Church of England. Several Homes are only open to Roman Catholics ; no one is exclusively Nonconformist. In all family prayers

each evening are said, and boys are encouraged and often taught to make their private devotions properly. It is generally understood that boys go to church on Sundays ; in some Homes this is compulsory. Quite apart from different aspects of religion, it is the common experience of all the Homes that religion must form a very definite part of the boy's training in the Home.

Next in importance to a boy's religion and his employment comes his education. If he is to take his place amongst the first ranks of skilled labour, his work during the day at the bench must be supplemented by technical work in the evening either in the Home or at a neighbouring institution. If it is at all possible, it is desirable that adequate teaching should take place in the Home and that attendance at classes should be the normal thing for every boy. Failing this, and the difficulty of good voluntary teachers is a very real one, the boys should be sent to the Polytechnic institutes and a room set apart in the Home for home-work and study. The results of such facilities in the Home are most encouraging. They go to prove that a boy, even though stunted by early neglect, has yet capabilities well worth development. They themselves respond and get really interested in mathematics, mechanical construction and drawing, applied mechanics, and so on. The Board of Education provide excellent examinations every year in all these subjects, and if once it becomes the ordinary thing in the Home for boys to take these examinations, there is no further difficulty about getting them to do evening-class work in the winter months. This side of a boy's training has been sadly neglected in most of the Homes for boys, but its importance cannot be overestimated. As an individual asset the boy makes himself of more commercial value to the

country, while for himself by increasing his market value he insures himself against unemployment when a man.

Besides his moral nature and his mind, the boy's physical condition must be considered. Too frequently the applicant for admission to the Home is small for his age, with a constitution weakened by systematic neglect. He often has defective eyesight or a weak chest; and though regular food and hours will do much to aid his development, regular games and exercise and holidays must play their part as well. Most of the Homes have recognised this, though in a few there are no organised games or holiday at all. In a few others a boy's physical welfare is thought of at the expense of whatever else happens to oppose it. In this respect the Home will resemble closely an ordinary boys' club. It will have a football team in the winter and cricket in the summer. These may be supplemented in the winter by gymnasium, rifle-shooting, and ordinary indoor games, in the summer by swimming and athletics. Perhaps the happiest time of all is the summer camp, which should be the rule of every Home. In most this is fortunately the case. Employers generally make very little difficulty about the boys all having their holiday at the same time. Only those who will go to a seaside camp for working boys know its joys and delight. At camp as in the Home the boys should be made to share in the domestic work, so that they may feel that their comfort to a certain extent depends upon their own efforts. This rule is in force in nearly every Home, and there never seems to be any difficulty about seeing that it is carried out.

The cost of a Home depends largely upon the number of boys admitted and the nature of

the employment to which they are sent. The more boys, the cheaper proportionately is the cost of maintenance ; while with regard to their work, the better the work the more costly will be the Home. Not only in highly skilled trades will young apprentices be paid less than in casual work, but expenses connected with the work are greater. A rough estimate for a Home of about twenty boys in good work means that about 50 per cent. of the total expense, including holidays, has to be raised over and above what the boys themselves pay. An average scale of payment, and one which is in use in more than one Home in London, is as follows :—

Boy's Wages.		Board, Lodging, Washing, etc.		Savings Bank.		Pocket Money.	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
5	0	4	0	0	6	0	6
6	0	5	0	0	6	0	6
7	0	5	6	0	9	0	9
8	0	5	10	1	2	1	0
9	0	6	5	1	6	1	1
10	0	7	0	1	10	1	2
11	0	7	8	2	1	1	3
12	0	8	3	2	5	1	4

No boy gets less than 6d. a week pocket-money and 6d. a week in the bank whatever his wages. All money earned by " overtime " to go to the Savings Bank.

That there is a need for more Homes managed on the lines indicated above can be no question. The demand is far greater than the supply. Such a work is expensive but interesting and very attractive, because, in the first place, it is of such an intimate personal nature ; and in the second place, because it is sound economically and

essentially a constructive piece of work: and these are factors which always appeal. Given a boy who is homeless, of good character, and anxious to learn a skilled trade, there are very few places to which he may be sent with the knowledge that he will be given the opening for which he is seeking. There would seem to be in this work not only a chance for fresh developments and new Homes, but an opportunity for men of education to offer themselves to the societies which already have Homes. It is obvious that a man of education, whether voluntarily or paid, can make much more of his boys than the ordinary superintendent and matron, however devoted and faithful. In those Homes where this has been already possible results have been excellent. The man of education can influence his boys in a remarkable way; the knowledge that he is their friend stimulates the boys to high ideals; while the whole together can more nearly approach the true family than is possible with however good an officer. It has been truly said that any one nowadays will "give," few will "share." And it is the spirit of sharing that makes all the difference to the man himself and to the boys in this kind of work. Inasmuch as any one will give, so will he gain; but he that will share, his education, his pleasures—in fact, his life—finds that he is the richer in his gain.

That the movement thus started as an experiment will grow is now almost an assured fact. The industrial conditions of the day, as it has been pointed out, demand some provision for these homeless working boys, and the small Home with an educated man as its head seems to prove the best of the experiments. But this fact does create a situation which society has not before

experienced. The boys in the best Homes, and these are the Homes that are likely to multiply in number, are being trained in such a way that they are becoming capable of holding any position in life. They are gentlemen in the truest sense of the word. Education has discovered in them capabilities common with the University man. Environment is developing individual character and an *esprit de corps* hitherto only known in our Public Schools. This, too, is true of boys in the best clubs. What effect, then, will this have on society at large, and what definite end have we in view?

A former generation regarded humanity as divinely created into two classes—the rich and the poor: the poor, who must rejoice in their poverty and always remain poor and ignorant, an object of charity ordained by God for the benefit of the rich. There are even those to-day who, whether they admit it or not, take up this line, and instinctively condemn the work that is being done in the best Homes for Boys on these grounds.

Others, again, look upon the work as a badly disguised form of Socialism, and condemn it as revolutionary. Such boys, they say, are all very well in their place, but were never meant to have the Public School spirit, nor to compete with University men in education. Visions of extravagant Labour Parties, the nationalisation of every form of property, and the ruin of family life rise before them as dim spectres which terrify and disappear—only to reappear as an earnest of what is to come. And they shrink from what they think they see. But it is not towards any such state of society as this that Homes are training their boys.

It is a truer and higher conception of Chris-

tianity to which all this work tends. Not that which is content to allow the homeless boy to suffer all his life because of circumstances over which he has no control. Not that which refuses to give him the chance of developing his individuality because he was not born the son of wealthy parents. But a Christianity which sees in every one, whether rich or homeless, a being whose talents must be developed to the full, for the service of his Creator, his country, and his fellow-men. It is this which inspires the managers of Homes for boys, as it also does those of clubs for boys.

The whole movement on these lines aims at recognising the responsibility of each individual for his own life as an integral part of the whole, whether this responsibility be wealth or intellect or manual skill. At this moment hundreds are living an inadequate life, many of them parasites on society just because they have never been given the opportunity to live a life they may call their own. They just live, work as best they can for their daily bread, and die and are forgotten, an economic loss to the country that it is not possible to determine. It is not, then, an extravagant Socialism towards which Homes for boys are playing their part; nor, on the other hand, is it the tyranny of an autocracy, but a state in which the individual may each develop his powers to the full, and in which each may serve the other—a true democracy. This may be an ideal impossible to realise in this age; but every step towards it must be encouraged. One step, however small, is that every boy, however destitute, may have the chance of living his own life and an opportunity of making it the best it can be, for the service of God and his country.

XIV

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES AND THE ADOLESCENT

IT has of late become usual to abate something of the assurance with which Englishmen formerly spoke of the permanent pre-eminence of their race. The conviction is deepening and spreading that something is wrong ; but there is much difference of opinion on the question what is wrong or most wrong. The cheery optimism of the party politician would apparently have us believe that malady and remedy are alike simple, that we have only to readjust our fiscal system or else to abolish and expropriate the Peerage. At the other extreme are those who maintain that the trouble is too deep-seated to admit of treatment, that there is a canker at the heart of the people which will surely destroy it, and that the first stage of decay has already been reached when the stolid, God-fearing Puritan of two and a half centuries ago has given place to the hysterical, shallow cockney of to-day. Others again there are who carefully examine the symptoms and attempt a diagnosis.

Perhaps the most important attempts at complete diagnosis are those in the recent reports of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law. Both the Majority and the Minority of the Commission recognise the extreme importance of

reducing unemployability, and thereby unemployment, by making better provision for training during adolescence. Thus the Minority of the Commissioners feel that

“ . . . The nation cannot long persist in ignoring the fact that the unemployed, and particularly the unemployable, are thus being daily created under our eyes out of bright young lives, capable of better things, for whose training we make no provision.”

What provision is needed? Let us look the facts in the face. The Consultative Committee of the Board of Education in their recent Report on the Need for Compulsory Continuation Schools, estimate that there are in England and Wales some two million young people between fourteen and seventeen years of age, and that of these about one-eighth are attending some form of day school, another eighth are on the rolls of evening schools, while the remaining three-quarters are receiving no form of education in any form of school, day or evening! The Committee, after pointing out that, according to the statistics of the District Committees formed under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, a large number of those who apply for relief to these Committees are young men who are unfitted for any form of employment but the lowest unskilled work, quote thus from Mr. Tawney:—

“ To describe these youths . . . and the men which they become as unskilled or untrained gives but a faint picture of the state of demoralisation which exists among some of them and which is, in fact, caused by using boys of fifteen simply as instruments of production which are scrapped when they are no longer remunerative—in employing them, in fact, for their immediate commercial utility.”

These authoritative statements indicate that the State is diseased and at a vital point—the point, in fact, which psychologists agree in regarding as the critical period in the lives of its future citizens. The adolescent years from thirteen to eighteen are a time of great natural changes in mind and body. Except the first two years of life, none are so important as the “teens” in determining the nature of the adult. Dr. Stanley Hall, in his great work on “Adolescence,” writes thus of this critical age:—

“Powers and faculties essentially non-existent before are now born, and of all the older impulses and instincts, some are reinforced and greatly developed, while others are subordinate so that new relations are established. . . . Love is born, with all its attendant passions. . . . All the previous religious sentiments are regenerated and some now arise for the first time. . . . Nature is felt and plays upon the soul with all its rich orchestra of influences. . . . The ethical life is immensely broadened and deepened because now a far deeper possibility and sense of sin and impurity arises. . . . In some respects early adolescence is thus the infancy of man’s higher nature. Character, temperament, emotions, and appetites are changed. The child from nine to twelve is well adjusted to his environment and proportionately developed. . . . At dawning adolescence this old unity and harmony with Nature is broken up; the child is driven from his paradise, must enter upon a long ascent, must conquer a higher kingdom of man for himself. . . . New dangers threaten on all sides. It is the most critical stage of life.”

And with the great majority of our population, not only are these years the time of greatest physical change, but of greatest economic change also. At the very time when the son of well-to-do parents is leaving his preparatory school

and entering one of the large, privately endowed schools known in England, to the confusion of foreign visitors, as Public Schools, the great majority of the children who began life in the Elementary Schools are leaving every form of mental and moral training for wholly uneducational employment.

Now whatever may be the serious charges that can be brought against the formal instruction given in our Public Schools, few will deny that in the formation of character (which the Introduction to the Elementary School Code defines as the main object of the education with which it at any rate is concerned) they are second to no other schools, ancient or modern. It is no doubt largely for this reason that England still leads the world as regards the quality of the men she exports as rulers, administrators, and pioneers all over the globe. If, then, this country is capable of organising so admirable a system of adolescent education, her reproach is the greater if she allows the rank and file of her population to pass their most impressionable years in undisciplined demoralisation.

For it is not only the discipline and moral influence of school that are removed when a boy or girl goes to work. The few shillings a week that the child is immediately able to earn is often an important item in the domestic budget, and in order to secure its payment in full, subject only to a deduction of, say, sixpence a week as pocket-money for the earner, to the family purse, parents generally relax their discipline of wage-earning children. So the child feels that he has leaped at once into manhood. How he delights to jeer at the Secondary School boy with school cap and school books—a mere “school-kid” still, even if seventeen years old

and six feet tall ! The wage-earning boy commonly considers, too, that all traces of the bondage of childhood should be left behind with the discipline of the day school and the stricter control at home. So he leaves his Sunday School or Bible Class soon after he leaves the day school, and this just at the time when he is most in need of and most susceptible to religious influence. Starbuck and other American statisticians tell us that the years from fourteen to eighteen are the age of the maximum number of conversions to true religion, and that of these most important years the most important of all is at sixteen to seventeen for boys and a little earlier for girls.

Some further provision is therefore urgently needed for the moral, mental, and physical care of the great majority of English boys and girls during the critical years from fourteen to seventeen, the age when the man or woman is being gradually formed out of the child. The result largely depends on the influences to which the youth is subjected in this formative period.

What result do we desire? We are face to face with one of the largest problems of philosophy. How shall we define our ideal of manhood and of womanhood? Perhaps the answer that will best assist our determination of the educational needs of adolescence is that what is most desirable in the adult is helpfulness combined with happiness. Ruskin says that these two ends—happiness and helpfulness—can be secured by the same means : “ The training that makes men happiest in themselves also makes them most serviceable to others.” But we must aim at the latter, not at the former. For if the principal aim of a school be to make the individual scholar happy by cultivating his mind, that

aim is less likely to be attained than if the school's first concern is with the scholar's serviceability, his (or her) industrial efficiency, his (or her) economic value. And this is true quite apart from the difficulty of securing the material requisites for æsthetic pleasure when one's schooling has not fitted one to earn one's living.

Now serviceability to others includes both the capacity and the desire to serve. A man's capacity to serve can generally be measured by his difference from the average of his fellows. The longer his special training, the higher are his earnings at the end of it. Up to fourteen there are practically no differences. Then the earliest specialisation commonly begins. Paths begin to diverge as some learn one trade, some another, some enter commerce and some, by undertaking unskilled work that leads to nothing, practically stand still; and some few go on together for a while and postpone specialisation. But the second factor in determining a man's usefulness is even more important than the first. The first, his power to serve, depends on his knowledge and his skill—that is, on his mental content. But the second, his desire to serve, depends rather on the arrangement of that content, on his outlook on life, his scheme of things, his philosophy, his religion.

It follows—and indeed, it is evident—that any adequate provision for the care of boys and girls in their teens will have regard to their religious needs even more than to their technical training.

It is not possible to estimate the extent to which such adequate provision is already made, but it is certain that the extent is small.

We have seen that only about one-eighth of the young people between fourteen and seven-

teen are attending day schools which recognise, theoretically at least, their responsibility for the training of character. Nearly 90 per cent. have, however, left the day school. Of these, many receive at home a directing influence for their right moral development. But good homes are not as common as one could wish, and, as we have already remarked, home influence often suffers a great and rapid diminution just when it is most needed. Not only so, but the circumstances of the home are frequently such as to tempt young people, rejoicing in their newly found freedom from school discipline and with more surplus cash than they will perhaps ever again possess, to spend as little time at home as possible. And even when the home is of the best, the awakening social instincts cause the boys and girls to seek outside it companions of their own age. Especially of the large towns may it be said that the street, rather than the sleeping-place, is the home of the average youth.

Some others of this 90 per cent., but a decreasing proportion, are apprentices whose old-time indentures bind their masters to see after their morals as well as to teach them their trade. And sometimes the masters are capable of discharging both their obligations.

Others, again, attend organised courses of study in Evening Schools, meeting on several nights a week, and some of these schools meet at other times for games and for Bible Classes. The managers and teachers attempt to cater for all the needs of the young lives which, to this limited extent, are in their care.

Some few more belong to boys' or girls' clubs, brigades, or scout patrols, originally formed for recreational purposes or with a religious object. But any successful organisation of this kind

generally extends its scope so as to include provision for at least two of the three departments—moral, mental, and physical—into which the needs of adolescence may be classified.

The fact remains, however, undisputed that there is no adequate provision for the spiritual needs of the great majority (90 per cent.) of young people between fourteen and seventeen years of age who have left the day school. And the Churches are no doubt right in regarding this as the most serious aspect of the problem How to care for and train these much neglected adolescents. From the Churches' point of view the centre of the whole problem is How to stop the present leakage of thirteen and fourteen-year-old scholars from the Sunday Schools. And it is not generally realised how full a statement of the problem this is. Let us, then, consider it a little more closely.

A total of 14 per cent. of the population of England and Wales have their names on the books of Protestant Sunday Schools, while only some 16 per cent. of the population are in average attendance at the public Elementary Schools. As the age limits correspond closely it follows that the great majority of Elementary School children also attend Sunday School. But, as has already been stated, few as yet continue their connection with the Sunday School for any length of time after leaving the day school. In 1907 there were about 2,400,000 children whose names were on the books of Church of England Sunday Schools and 1,800,000 children's names on the books of the Sunday Schools belonging to the Free Churches. Of the young people who left these latter Sunday Schools in that year only 11 per cent. joined the Church within twelve months. So 89 per cent. were then lost to the

Churches. Perhaps some 19 per cent. returned to connection with their Churches in later life ; the net loss during adolescence may therefore be roughly estimated at 70 per cent., and the same proportion probably obtains in the case of the Church of England Sunday Schools also.

The Sunday School Union is endeavouring to stop the leak of thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen-year-old scholars from the schools by forming, in connection with the Sunday Schools, " Institutes " to which these young people are transferred. These Institutes are formed primarily in the interest of the continued religious care of the adolescent. But just as the more successful of the organisations for promoting the mental or physical wellbeing of wage-earning youths have found it important to have regard also to spiritual requirements, so these Sunday School Institutes are designed to meet regularly in the week for educational and recreative purposes.

Experience has demonstrated the success of the scheme. Sunday Schools that have formed Institutes report that they are now successful in retaining their scholars through the critical years of the early teens. While many schools have already adopted the Institute organisation for their older scholars, many more in all parts of England and Wales and even in the Colonies are in correspondence with the Institutes Committee of the Sunday School Union on the question how best to adapt the general scheme to their particular circumstances, having regard, for example, to the Local Education Authority's Evening School system, and to the importance of avoiding overlapping or interfering with it. In 1909 there were already 45,000 members of these Sunday School Institutes. An interesting

manual of the "Institute Department" of the Sunday School, by the Rev. Albert Swift, has been published by the Sunday School Union, Ludgate Hill, E.C. To this volume are referred those who desire further particulars of this important movement.

XV.

CROSS-FERTILISATION IN SCHOOLS

BY J. L. PATON, *High Master, Manchester Grammar School*

IT is with schools as with orchids: constant inbreeding tends to degeneracy. However opulent or favoured the school, it is at its own peril that it attempts to live to itself. If we inquire whence spring the poverty and inadequacy, the negligences, and ignorances of our English schools, it is here we may trace the source, and this at both ends of the scale. On the one hand, we have our boasted Public Schools. They are shut off from all contact with any but the monied classes; their scholarship system, which was designed to counteract this danger, has served in practice merely to emphasise it. They are shut off from all contact with foreign schools—even the foreign teacher is now tabooed. They are shut off, too, from contact with schools of other grade even in their country. They are fed from Preparatory Schools, which are specialised to meet their needs; they have a separate conference of their own; they have no sort of correlation and own no sort of allegiance except to the two older Universities. Into the Public School boy one fixed idea is instilled from the first: that his school is far and away the best school in England. It is

part of his school patriotism to maintain this against all comers as the fundamental principle of all educational discussion. And this belief is so strongly implanted in his central sensorium that it never strikes him as being worth while even to get to know any other school than his own. The citizenship of Eton, of Harrow, or Rugby is so persistent that it is only by a special providence or special effort that any other citizenship of later life, whether it be of London or Liverpool or Manchester, establishes its hold upon him as a matter of real obligation.

The same inbreeding is largely seen in the staffing. The Public Schools are staffed by Public School boys. The successful scholar goes to Oxford or Cambridge. There he is to some extent thrown perforce into touch with other modes of thought and the currents of a wider life. But even at the University he carefully protects himself as much as possible, by choice of college, from any contamination with the products of plebeian education. On going up he finds himself at once in a circle of congenial friends, all hailing from "the one and only school"—a circle perhaps a hundred strong, which maintains at college the cult of the school citizenship, and makes it unnecessary to supplement friendship to any serious extent from outside the charmed ring. If he elects for teaching, then, supposing he gets his First or his Blue, preferably the latter, he has a very good chance of getting back to his old school and on the staff lives its intense life over again. Even his holidays are organised for him by Dr. Lunn in association with other Public School masters, and, instead of going to Toynbee Hall or an East End settlement to broaden his mind, he goes to Switzerland to elongate his conversation, and

that along with other men of his own superior social standing and limited educational sphere. In fact, he never gets away from his Alma Mater's apron-strings. The Alma Mater who receives him at twelve fosters him in her bosom all his life (except for the short break at the University), and at last commends him, after his threescore years and ten, to the bosom of that other Alma Mater who receives us all at last.

So much of this is right in feeling that one hesitates to criticise : it is right that a boy should believe in his school as the crack school, right that he should cling to his friends, right that he should consider it an honour above all other honours to be on the staff of the one school in England which stands in his eyes above all others and is enthroned above all others in his heart. He cannot be blamed if, having tasted old wine, he does not straightway prefer new. It was the thing in my day—it was, it is, and therefore it shall be. And yet it is beyond question to this source that we must trace that unreceptivity, that self-complacent stagnation of our Public Schools, that perfect contentedness to remain for ever what they are now, against which the criticism of the nation directs itself—sometimes according to knowledge and sometimes not according to knowledge, but always alike in vain. It is not possible to blame any individual—the fault inheres in the system and not in the persons who are the natural and almost inevitable product of the system. But, blame or no blame, the point is that the price has to be paid for this autocentric, isolative tendency of our best schools. English education, as a whole, has suffered because of this intense enthusiasm on the part of our “governing classes” for Eton, Harrow, Rugby, or schools of that rank, an

enthusiasm which has been accompanied by an almost complete indifference as to what becomes of the rest of the English people who cannot afford to educate their sons at the cost of £150 to £200 a year apiece.

And the schools themselves suffer from lack of what Matthew Arnold would have called "criticism"; they are not inspected, and therefore they have no touch with the life of the State; they are sufficiently rich in endowments and well established in repute to be independent of parental opinion (which, in many cases, is chiefly concentrated on the games, and, in any case, could not be effectively expressed owing to the wide dispersion and incohesiveness of the connection); they have strong Conservative traditions which make them cling to what is old for the sake of its oldness, and view all newer subjects and newer methods with dislike because of their newness—in a word, they are out of touch with each other; they are out of touch with the general trend of European education, thought, and practice; they are out of touch with the community that they serve because they are withal out of touch with "necessity," which, as the Greek poet tells us, is the great power behind the throne of Zeus himself.

So much for the upper end of our school system. The Public Schools, like Moab, have settled on their lees.

Turn to the lower end, and one finds in the Elementary School system the same evil and in-breeding at work, tending to produce in the elementary teacher a certain rigidity, intolerance of criticism—"grooviness." But how can one blame him? How can he know his own system and estimate his own work until he has detached himself from it, viewed it from outside, got

another standpoint from which to judge? This is just what he has never been able to do. How could he under the system which has hitherto prevailed? He was trained up in the Elementary School; at the age of eleven to twelve, being promising, he was selected for a pupil-teacher; he acted as pupil-teacher in the Elementary School; he passed his examinations while still at work in Elementary Schools; he passed into a pupil-teacher college or, if fortunate, into a training college, where the atmosphere was still the Elementary School; his comrades were from the Public Elementary Schools; they were all looking forward to the Public Elementary School, and their little life was bounded by that span. He never got outside the cave and the idols of the cave, never had a chance to free himself from the "tanks and buckets of knowledge" which we call text-books—never had a chance to come out under the illimitable dome and wash his hands in the infinite sea.

Now, you will say, fortunately this is past. One of the greatest things that has been done for English education was the issue of new regulations, which established bursaries in Secondary Schools for intending pupil-teachers. True, but one of the weakest and foolishhest concessions the Board has made was to defeat their own end by allowing the pupil-teacher bursaries to be held at higher Elementary Schools.

What we want is for the Public Elementary School boy to pass on to a school which shall teach him something of what it means to be a member of the society in which the efficiency and good name of the whole are felt to depend upon the efficiency and honourable conduct of each constituent member, which works in an atmosphere of comradeship and trains character by

that best of all training, the responsibilities of leadership—in which each of the several organs draws strength and vigour from the healthy functioning of the rest, and all are contributing to the wellbeing of an organic whole—a society, in fact, in which the education of the complete man becomes possible and real.

Dare I say a word also about the Universities? Is there danger of inbreeding here? Have they, too, in Bacon's phrase, become "cannibals of themselves"?

Well, one great contrast between English Universities and German is this : in England it is the rarest thing in the world for one man to pass from one University to another, and there seems to be a sinister suspicion attaching to him if he does ; but in Germany it is the rule, not the exception. The great dread of the German student is *Einseitigkeit* ; the great dread of the English student would seem to be *Vielseitigkeit*. Again, one hesitates to criticise. There is so much that is good and sound about the collegiate system ; it has, in fact, just what the German University lacks, and, lacking, tries to reproduce with its fighting corps and its other boozing fraternities.

But, again, we pay the price for it, and it is a heavy price. It is not only heavy, but it is avoidable. Consider, for instance, what a vast influence it has had upon the intellectual life of Oxford, throwing open the Fellowship competitions. Consider how the best things of Balliol have flowed freely in the irrigation channels thus opened out to her, and how Balliol herself has become greater because she has not lived to herself, but, like Sir Galahad, gave her life in order to find it. What a pity that Oxford did not carry the same principle farther ! She might, for instance, have saved her school of

ancient philology, which has become virtually extinct for lack of just what Cambridge could have given.

What I should say about my own University is perhaps better suggested than made explicit. But, believe me, there are schools of study at Cambridge which would lose their tendency to grittiness and petrification if there were an infusion of generous blood from the Isis. And the University will never realise the fulness of its power until the dividing walls between colleges are—I will not say broken down—but, at any rate, so much lowered that, by the help of God, a man might leap over them.

But I must not develop this point, for I am to deal with schools, and I want to treat specifically the different methods by which cross-fertilisation can operate. Our educational revival, of which signs are evident, owes its origin, not to the great English schools, not to the Universities, but partly to necessity, in the shape of foreign competition, and also in no small degree to the interest which English teachers and thinkers have discovered in the school systems of other countries. It looks as if English education was destined to owe as much to Germany as English music. The prime factor in this educational revival is that branch of the Education Department—that intelligence department which was set up by the far-sightedness of Mr. Acland. He put Professor Sadler on the hilltop, and told him to keep a sharp look-out for whatever good piece of work he could see anywhere being done in the education field. As Director of Special Inquiries and Reports, Professor Sadler has not only sent out a considerable number of Englishmen with the special object of studying foreign systems, but has given us

thereby that best and most effective kind of tacit self-criticism which comes from putting the practice of foreign nations side by side with our own practice—a criticism which, being based on actual examples and results, comes home to a practical nation like the English far more effectively than a criticism based on any speculative theoretical arguments. The good of these special Reports does not end with the reading. Many masters find their way during the holidays to the schools of the Continent to watch the methods of the foreigner in practice and learn that language of the classroom which is so necessary for the new method of teaching modern languages. I have sat myself in a classroom at the Musterschule in Frankfort, where there were six other strangers as well as myself. And nothing, as a rule, can exceed the openness and friendliness of the Germans in giving one all possible facilities for studying their methods, text-books, and systems. They may believe in a closed door to their markets, but they believe in an open door to their schools. Even at a time when anti-English feeling was strongest, English teachers were visiting the schools and attending the various holiday courses without the slightest hindrance or unpleasantness.

Out of this has arisen the system of interchange of teachers with France and Germany, an experiment which is not yet as widely known as it should be, and consequently has not yet shaped itself out to its full development, but is already full of promise for the future. The benefit to the school is obvious. Our modern language teaching is practically in the hands of Englishmen. However well equipped, it is most helpful to them to have ready at hand one who can give them a decisive opinion on those subtler

questions of idiom and usage of which a foreigner can never be quite sure. It is of great advantage to have opportunities of almost daily conversation with a well-educated Frenchman or German. The boys at the head of the school share to the full in both these same advantages, but even to the rank and file it means something to learn by companionship that foreigners are not necessarily "beastly." Over and above this there are more measurable results which accrue from what De Quincey called "congenial inoculation." France can give us something of her incomparable clearness of thought, her grace, incisiveness, and lucidity of expression. Germany, on her part, brings with her into our English educational thought a robust atmosphere which comes from precision of aim, thoroughness of work and organisation, careful application of psychological science to the correlation of studies and methods of teaching.

Nor is the bargain one-sided; we, too, have something to give, as our Continental friends would be the first to admit: free and natural intercourse between masters and boys, the pastoral conception of the schoolmaster's work, the spirit and methods of corporate life, and the unconscious moral training of social life; above all, the idea of education as a thing affecting not only compartments, but the human being as a whole—not mind alone, but body and spirit as well.

Great as these things are, the greatest of all is charity. So far as we can see, it is only in these quiet, undemonstrative ways that one can counteract effectively the poison of international prejudice which threatens to-day the peace of Europe. "I don't want to know him," said Sydney Smith to a friend who offered him a

personal introduction to one of his pet aversions —“ I don't want to know him. If I knew him, I could not dislike him. I never could hate any one I knew.” To get to know each other is the only preparation for international brotherhood and peace.

Whether this system of interchanging teachers could be extended to the colonies is a question which is already being mooted. There are special difficulties in the way, but they are not insuperable. This would be, indeed, a “ congenial inoculation,” and it would mean more than many Empire Leagues and Empire lantern lectures for the fostering of intelligent Imperial patriotism in our schools ; for no one can deny that the recent development of Imperial feeling and the sense of Imperial solidarity is not of native growth ; it is really the response on the part of the Mother-country to the spontaneous loyalty of her colonies.

Again, this principle of variety combined with freedom for variation must be carried out within the school itself, if it is to be a thriving organism. It seems to me to be endangered by that somewhat doctrinaire policy of “ differentiation of type ” which is advocated by the Educational Section of the British Association. Says one of their representative writers, speaking of a comprehensive system of schools, each of which should have a special part to play in the work of training our future citizens :—

“ Thus, one school might find its special function in training boys for the professions ; another might do equally good service by giving its scholars the best possible preparation for the lower walks of business life ; a third might supply the general needs of a small country town and the surrounding districts ; and so on in other cases. The methods

of each school would be determined, not only by the type of future calling for which the majority of its scholars were intended, but also by their intellectual and social antecedents and home environment."

This idea of differentiation looks beautifully statesmanlike on paper, but if carried out in practice would be fatal to the higher and broader idea of education. What a boy wants at school is not to meet other boys of the same intellectual and social antecedents and home environment as himself—he wants to be thrown among boys of quite different intellectual and social antecedents and other home environments. Education is not putting a boy in a groove and keeping him in it; it is getting him out of his groove and letting him see something of the largeness and infinite variety of life. What a fate, for instance, for a lad to be consigned to this school of junior bagmen, grimly foreshadowed by the writer I have quoted, in the school which prepares for the lower walks of business life! Can anything be imagined more deadening than such a school and the vista of life which it opens up? How could a lad of any generous mettle realise his highest self in such a groove as that? How could any lad develop views of life that are sane and just and true in such a *milieu* where the be-all and end-all was the bank clerk or commercial traveller? Such a conception of the future development of our educational system is, in the worst sense of the word, pedantic, because it shapes the whole thing from the point of view of the organiser and administrator, while it leaves out of account what boys learn from each other; and what boys learn from each other is a far more important element of their education than what they learn from their masters.

It is for this reason that the English system of

having the two sides, classical and modern, in the same school is far preferable to the Continental system of separate schools. I know that we have not adopted the system from any thought-out judgment as to its superior educational advantage. We have arrived at it in our usual English way—because it happened so. But, all the same, it is one of our best educational assets. Consider what talk there is among boys in all the common intercourse of school over their respective modes of life—over meals, on the way home, in the prefects' common room, and in the debating society. It is something like that lively camp of Agricola, described by Tacitus, where the bluejackets mingled with the legionaries and “swapped yarns as they shared their rations.” The classical boy learns (though probably in hearing of the enemy he would acknowledge nothing of the kind) that in the moderns, too, there is a classic thought, strong poetic feeling, and a striving for perfection of form, and together with these a sense of the infinite which the classics lack. He learns—indirectly, it is true, but none the less effectively—something about the attitude of the scientific mind towards the universe; that science is not all popular lectures with captivating experiments, and not all “fairy tales,” as his Tennyson would have him believe; but science, too, entails strenuous thinking, and in that strenuous thinking lies the great spring and hope of material progress for the race.

The modern side boy, on his part, also learns much. He gathers some notion of the long results of time; he gets some touch with the idealism of Plato; and, if he does not himself enter into the storehouse of the world's best thought, he learns, at any rate, to know of

its existence—to realise that it does not consist of mere musty, useless shibboleths, but is full of actuality and the issues of life; and he sees how it enriches the life of his classical school-fellows, moulds their taste, and dominates their thinking. This is an educational result which is worth aiming at and worth retaining. Its influence is in both directions a liberating influence; it brings even into the school something of the microcosm of the Universities; it knocks windows into the mind in all directions, and conduces to growth and expansion of mind.

The same kind of widening, liberalising effect is got from the intermixture of different social classes. The greatest disservice we could do to the future professional classes of this country would be to train them up in special schools without any contact with the trade, the great commercial and industrial interests of the country, just as the worst thing for the commercial education of this country would be to set up a special commercial public school, as was advocated by a distinguished Headmaster in the Cambridge Senate House. The only result of such class separation would be that professional men would grow up with the idea that the trade which makes this country great is something vulgar, banausic, and unclean, and the business men would be imbued with the idea that professional life was inextricably associated with social snobbery and Pharisaism.

One other danger lies ahead. In our zeal for the organisation of education there is no small risk of our crushing out of existence the private school. This would be a serious mistake. It was from a private school that Dr. Arnold learned some of his best ideas; it is private

schools which to-day are doing some of the most progressive work, and from the point of view of national education we cannot afford to lose an agency which is so free to adjust itself to social needs and to test the fitness for practical purposes of the educational "spring novelties" which are so much with us. In this matter we have laid out before our eyes with exceptional clearness in Mr. J. S. Thornton's Reports the experience of the four northern countries of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland—a more excellent way we should do well to follow.

Says Mr. Thornton :—

"It can come much closer to the home than the communal school ; it has a greater expansive force, and can penetrate to nooks and corners of the land to which neither State school nor municipal school can hope to come ; and through its greater freedom (which is, after all, only a relative freedom) it possesses the lion's share of new plans, ideas, and methods which, after due trial, pass into general currency. It is neither public nor private, but a strong blend of both. It is public because it passes a public test and conducts its pupils by graded steps to the common goal to which the State schools are proceeding. It is private because it belongs to a private individual, who has the appointment of his own staff, and can make of his school an ordered, effective unity ; and is, in the thousand and one details of school life, tied down much less than usual to a prescribed routine.

"State schools, municipal schools, private schools—they all have striking faults and characteristic merits : faults that can be neutralised or minimised, merits that can be shared or transferred only by the fullest and most constant co-operation—a co-operation which may be found realised in no ordinary degree in the North of Europe." "Variety set in a framework of national organisation," says Professor Sadler, "seems to me the right ideal, and a practicable idea. The State should aim at

encouraging educational freedom, not at any restriction of it. It should recognise, and, when needful, aid every kind of efficient and needed school."

What shall we say about religion? When we take the children of this or that religious denomination, pen them up together apart from all others, and practically bring them up as though people of different religious beliefs were to be as carefully avoided and religiously segregated as though they had the smallpox infection—what are we doing in effect but breeding bigotry and intolerance as fast as we can? After all, we have to live together afterwards with folk whose religious persuasions differ widely from our own; we have to act together in all sorts of different relationships in life; we ought to begin at school to learn how to do it. As the German proverb puts it, "The tongue often gets bitten by the teeth, but they have to live together all the same." If at the present moment in England the tongue is demanding that all the teeth should be extracted, and the teeth are endeavouring to bite out the tongue by the roots and spue it forth—we are just reaping the seed that we have sown in our sectarian schools of the past. Professor Rein, in his argument against the *Simultanschule*, urges the unity of school spirit, but this unity of school spirit is dearly bought if, in after years, it makes impossible the higher unity of the nation. Religion should be a great binding force. It should link men together, not divide. "He that gathereth not with Me, scattereth abroad," and it is a grievous pity that a child's first idea of religion should be: "Religion is something which places a gulf between myself and my neighbour." There is too much of that

in our life already. School should counteract it, not foster it.

I might go farther and discuss the question of combining different nationalities in the same school—Sir Edward Cornwall's scheme of exchanging so many London children for an equal number of children from Paris, and Mr. Choate's idea of exchanging pupils between English and American schools. But for this the time has not yet come. The Rhodes scholars are a first experiment in this direction. An American society does something similar for women students. All I can say is that the day school in Central London, as I know it, is already in itself almost a cosmopolitan institution, for it is the fate of every great commercial centre to become rapidly denationalised. My experience in such a school makes me conscious of its dangers, *Cum adventiciis moribus adventicii quoque mores importantur*; but it makes me conscious also of its advantages. Jewish boys supply excellent illustrations for Old Testament lessons and Scripture. A boy of German extraction gives an admirable lead in pronunciation, and geography lessons are enlivened by the presence of boys who have first-hand knowledge either of the country under treatment or its products; and not infrequently the boy from America or the colonies, or the lad of foreign birth with his extra dash of liveliness, reacts with salutary effect upon the somewhat stolid and phlegmatic roast-beef-and-plum-pudding John Bull type of boy.

To carry the thing out fully, I suppose, I ought to treat of the reaction of sex upon sex; but this would raise the vexed question of co-education. Perhaps I have stirred enough vexed questions. In any case, that is one which

should be discussed by those who know it from inside.

I come now to cross-fertilisation, not as between individual and individual in school itself, but as between different schools. All English schools suffer isolation the one from the other. Excellence here and there is attained by this or that school, or more frequently by this or that department in a school; but our successes have been just like islands emerging in a lonely waste of waters—quite insufficient to atone for the low level of average performance. The question above all questions for us is how to level up the average—how, by general elevation, to create a firm, solid, and continuous mainland of efficiency in place of the few isolated peaks of excellence.

Here there are two agencies at work to which we may look with hope—

(a) Associations of Teachers. It was the genial spirit of Thring which first felt the need of breaking down the barriers and escaping from the narrowness and the cave idols of the isolated school. At any rate, Thring was the first to act. He founded the Headmasters' Conference, and all sorts of other organisations have followed with the usual English variety, duplicating and overlapping.

The good of these gatherings lies not only and not mainly in the discussions and resolutions of the formal assembly. These are often arid enough. The good lies in the private talks among the members. They give us a chance of getting to know our colleagues, of talking over our common difficulties, and in these informal ways our vague notions become cleared and vitalised.

(b) His Majesty's Inspector. He, rightly con-

ceived, is the fertilising bee who flits from flower to flower, culls the pollen-dust from one school and transfers it to the receptive stigma of another ; who stores up the honey in the common hive of the administrative office. When the Inspector realises his cross-fertilising function, the exceptional success gained by one method or one teacher soon becomes a gain for all ; the knowledge of admirable work done in some exceptional school passes to the authority as a brain, and from the authority passes out again into all the schools which it controls.

Not monotonous, bureaucratic uniformity. By no means that. That would be one stage worse than what we have had in the past. It is bad for any nation ; for the English it would be the Second Death. Our national unity rests on admitted adversity. Saxons and Normans and Danes are we—thoroughbred mongrels, in fact. And education, if it is a living thing, must reflect the essential qualities of our national life. Therefore, as our national life owes its richness of initiative to permitted variety of conviction and of view, and freedom for working out our views in practice, there ought to be a corresponding variety among schools, a variety expressive of those historic traditions which persist among us. What I plead for is (1) freedom of experiment, (2) recognition of successful initiative, (3) rapid diffusion of successful results (the third is the most difficult to secure ; for this I see no agency in the field except his Majesty's Inspectors and the educational press). In short, while our nation needs this variety of fruitful and stimulating juxtaposition, it needs also co-operation and willingness on the part of each to learn and co-operate with others—a unity in multiplicity ; we should be, as the poet puts it,

"distinct as the waves, one as the sea." It is the unity which Englishmen find so hard, for no nation is so heterogeneous and so individualistic as our own.

It is only in this way that individuality, the salt of life, gets its proper chance of development. It was only by knowing ever so many other people that Socrates got to know himself, not by shutting himself up in solitude. I can conceive of nothing so fatal to full and free development of personality as for a man to move in a society seeing spectres of himself in everlasting multiplication moving endlessly around him. "It is not good for us," says Sir Thomas More, "to live entirely with congenial spirits. The vigorous tempers, the inert, the passionate is evened with the cool-tempered, the prosaic balances the visionary."

At present, out of touch with each other, we are working in the dark, many of us. Here and there some one hits upon a good thing; admirable work is done in this or that isolated school; perhaps one or two others by chance get to hear of it. But it ought not to be so narrowed in, nor ought it to be left to chance, still less ought it to be any man's special nostrum which he works for his own private profit. If teaching is a profession and not a trade, then, as in medicine so in teaching, one teacher's discovery should be at once placed at the disposal of all teachers. We should know the best methods, the best apparatus, the best buildings, the best results of experiments, the best syllabus and curricula, know and have ready access to the best men and women. Any sound bit of work should have free course and be glorified. Even in the fads and nostrums there is a soul of goodness, if we are able observingly to distil

it out. With free cross-fertilisation none of these would become a trade secret, each would yield up what it had in it of good for the benefit of all, and would at once fall into its right place in the system.

The politics of education have naturally absorbed much interest of late. But now the point is to get as much value as we can out of the machine; the case for education reverts from Parliament to the school. Like a piece of machinery entrusted to them for repair, the politicians now hand it back guaranteed in sound working condition to the teaching authorities—the engineers of the profession to whom it properly belongs. In order that we may get the most out of our machine, in order that we may make the most of ourselves as teachers, the one thing that we want is the means of fulfilling readily, and without undue self-assertion, that desire which is now abroad everywhere and was never so much felt as to-day—the desire to learn from each other.

XVI

THE BREAKING DOWN OF CASTE

BY ARTHUR H. HOPE, M.A. (*Joint Editor "The
Higher Education of Boys in England"*)

"THE youth of a nation are the trustees of posterity," wrote Disraeli, in "Sybil," and the recognition of this truth is at once a stimulus and a consolation to those engaged in education. If we "follow the gleam" and permit ourselves to see visions of an England in which the greatest number shall attain their greatest good, and national wealth shall connote the wellbeing, through liberty, justice, and brotherliness, of every member of the body politic, we shall perhaps agree that there is one way, and one way only, by which this day-dream may be given something of reality, and the foundations laid of a sound and noble social fabric. The boys of to-day who will to-morrow be in positions of authority must be brought up in knowledge of, and sympathy with, their poorer contemporaries; where they cannot be abolished, gates must be opened in the class fences which shut off boy from boy; in school and at home the fraternity of boys must be encouraged, the common claims of boyhood recognised, its common rights enforced. We must foster, not repress, the generous spirit of comradeship which is instinctive in the young. As Fitzgerald says in his

“Euphranor,” “Every boy and youth is, in his mind and sentiment, a knight, and essentially a son of chivalry. Nature is fine in him. Nothing but the circumstances of a singular and most degrading system of education can ever totally destroy the action of this general law.”

Now it will be conceded that adult knights are not as yet so common among us as to escape attention, and we must, therefore, ask ourselves how the chivalrous young boy degenerates into the selfish capitalist or the indifferent merchant, why the ardour and promise of youth are exchanged for the frequent cynicism of manhood. The answer is to be found, as Fitzgerald indicates, in our educational system. For, though there are many signs of better days ahead, we still continue, for the most part, to bring up our boys in water-tight compartments, excluding them with ingenious care from all possibility of contact with their fellows in a different sphere, filling them deliberately with caste ideals and caste prejudices, corrupting their spirit of human comradeship into the self-interested patriotism of a class. The older Universities, for all their letting in of light, continue to devote the bulk of their energy and resources to crowning an education which has been, almost from babyhood, one long elaborate training in exclusiveness. Governess, pre-Preparatory, Preparatory and Public Schools have each in turn shielded the son of wealthier parents from all intercourse with boys of other ranks. He is encouraged, not by word, but by the planning of his life, to consider the Grammar School boy as an outsider and the gardener's lad as an animal of another species. During the holidays, if his home is in the country and his schoolfellows are inaccessible, he may sometimes play with the children

of his father's tenants, but the atmosphere is artificial, and there is no equal give and take. If his parents live in town, he will know no more of boys of another class than of the dustman. His Public School will, indeed, probably finance a school-mission, but until he is a senior boy or has left the school, his only link with his brethren of the slums will be the annual sermon and collection. If a few day-boys, by virtue of the charter, survive in a school which was probably founded for the free education of the children of the locality, he will regard them as intruders and aliens. His genius for self-devotion will have been concentrated upon his school, his class, and the political programme which his class approves. Of life, and the social conditions under which the shopkeeper's son and the street Arab are growing up, he will care nothing because he has been allowed to know nothing.

At the other end of the scale, the Elementary School boy is equally the victim of a system which brings him up in ignorance of the virtues and outlook of boys from gentler homes, and inbreeds a bad tradition. The poor need to understand the rich quite as much as the rich the poor, but a high wall with few gaps shuts off the future clerk or artisan from all contact with the class which will furnish his employer. He moves within a narrow circle of mean conventions and ambitions. His aims, inspired by his environment, are almost inevitably crude and selfish—to "get on" (by which he means to get high wages or start for himself), or to "have a good time" (*i.e.*, to spend his money on music-halls or skating-rinks and run down for a week-end to Blackpool or Margate). He rarely gains higher ideals or sounder tastes in the classroom, for the instruction is according to code and his

teacher (like his unknown colleague, the Public School master) is himself the product of the machine which he is running. The refinement and altruism which are the essential elements in the atmosphere of a school built for the masses are likely to be to seek until there arises a generation of teachers who have been trained in the larger world of the Secondary School and University. The poor need the influence of the finest exemplars of pastoral spirit and liberal culture; to-day we allow their future masters to hold their bursaries at Higher Elementary Schools, and then shut them up to educate each other in the lay seminaries called Pupil Teachers' Centres and Training Colleges.

Between the schools for the many and the Boarding Schools for the wealthy few come the older and newer types of Secondary School—the Grammar School and the Municipal School. The latter is entirely for day-boys, the former is almost equally a day-school in towns, and in the country has only a minority of boarders. Here, it would appear, we have at last found the object of our quest, a meeting-ground for boys of different classes in vigorous contact with life. It is true, and I shall emphasise the point below, that in these schools, with their appeal to many grades of the indeterminate middle-class, we have the best instrument to hand, perhaps the best discoverable, for the levelling of caste barriers among the young. But up to now the possibilities are more encouraging than the actual situation. The Municipal School is generally only a rebaptized Higher Elementary School, with many of the illiberal traditions of the old régime and with a *clientèle* almost exclusively lower-middle or upper-artisan. And when the smaller Grammar Schools have been taken over

by the local authorities, the reduction of fees and the introduction of bursars have meant the diversion of the sons of wealthier business and professional men to some private academy, or, as boarders, to a distant Public School. The national tendency of the day to social segregation has hitherto been rather encouraged than restrained by these readjustments of our educational machinery, and snobbishness has spread at once upwards and downwards, the "lower upper middle-class" father who would have sent his boy to the local Grammar School choosing instead a cheap boarding school, and the superior workman with ambitions spending a few pounds yearly to give his son a lower secondary rather than the ordinary elementary education.

Well, we must look these facts in the face, and recognising that the mischief of class-alooness is widespread and probably on the increase, determine to seek out and apply every antidote we can discover. It will be the object of this chapter briefly to indicate the directions in which, from the writer's limited experience, such antidotes may be found, in the conviction that no harm and some good will be done by those who care to test them. Let us first deal with the institutions most directly effective for levelling *up*, both socially and intellectually, the present generation of boys—our schools and Universities. After what has been said above about certain types of school it seems evident that the best instrument to-day for the intermixing of many classes and the promotion of mutual sympathy and understanding is the Secondary Day School, or, to give it its historic name, the Grammar School. If such a school is large enough to provide a complete and properly graded course

for boys between the ages of nine and nineteen ; if it is so organised as to impart within the same walls both the older learning and the new ; if it is famous enough, and competent enough, to satisfy the ambitions of the professional man or manufacturer who is anxious to give his son a first-rate training, and at the same time democratic enough to open its doors wide, by a generous scholarship scheme, to all the talent discoverable among the poor and allow such talent a complete career ; if, finally, it lays as much stress upon its out-of-school activities as upon its classroom instruction, and affords its boys every opportunity of intercourse and healthy rivalry in society meetings and on the playing fields—then it is likely that more will be done by its agency to break down caste barriers and inspire good citizenship than by all the indirect and subsidiary devices I shall enumerate below.

Luckily enough, it so happens that it is to the day school of this type rather than to the aristocratic boarding school that the future apparently belongs. It has taken its place within the national system of higher education, under State recognition, State guarantee, and liberal State control, which has been slowly but surely elaborated within the last ten years. It is in touch, through Government inspectors, with the best instructional methods and is becoming alive to the lessons which foreign countries can teach us. It is staffed by men who, while themselves trained in the great traditions of the past, are most open, through their environment, to educational progress and readjustment in the present. It aims, often successfully, at combining the public spirit, keen loyalty, and pastoral oversight of the Boarding School with the mental alertness, strenuous work, and unimpeded contact with life

which result from the competition of wealthier boys with boys who perforce "mean business," and from the stimulus which home and street can give. Whereas the Public Boarding Schools, unless they reform, are in danger of being left high and dry as the expensive monopoly of the plutocratic few to whom learning means nothing, the greater Day Schools will, by their efficiency, win the confidence of those parents who now send their sons away from home, and the gain will be great to both the locality and the nation. The strength of Scotland yesterday, and of France, Switzerland, and America to-day is in no small measure traceable to the co-education of rich and poor within their High Schools. There is some promise that this strength will be ours to-morrow.

It may be well in this connection to emphasise the protest which has been made by Mr. J. L. Paton against the recommendation of certain educational reformers that we should segregate different types of higher education, as is done in Germany, in separate schools. Whatever the gain (it is not clear how it can be great) in instructional efficiency, and however plausible the argument about progress lying in differentiation of function, it is certain that the social loss involved in such a course would be enormous.

But if we would retain within the same ethical atmosphere, and open to the same corporate influences which make for social unity and amity, boys of different classes and destined for widely different careers, it is obvious that we must organise with greater care and in a more liberal and scientific spirit than hitherto various alternative courses, equal in honour though remote in object, inside the same school. It is a hopeful

sign to see the Headmaster of Eton in his last book¹ pleading for the extension of manual training in Public Schools, because the workshop affords at once the best element in the training of boys without linguistic ability, but with a just claim to participation in Public School life, and an indispensable element in the training of all boys, since all alike need to learn how to use their hands. And he well adds that carpentering not only cultivates the wish of all boys to be useful by encouraging them to make "what their sister or little brother wants, or some poor peasant, or a farmer's crippled son," but also causes them "to grow up prepared to show an intelligent sympathy with the masses of our people who live by hand labour," and to dignify such labour in the eyes of the working classes themselves. In a big school it should not be impossible to establish, alongside of the classical and modern sides, an engineering side, with a regular sequence of forms, or a commercial side giving a predominantly English instruction like that of the Manual Training High Schools of America. By such a plan we should both secure class-co-education and facilitate the transference, according to development of aptitude, of boys from one department to another without ruinously frustrating their growth in youthful patriotism by changing their school in order to change their studies.

It will, perhaps, be asked, What of the Municipal Secondary School which either monopolises or shares with a Grammar School the higher education for a district. Is it, as far as may be, to compete with

¹ "School Boys and School Work," Longmans, 1909.

other schools in providing instruction for the children of all classes, or is it, like the German *Realschule*, to confine its energies to giving a superior business equipment? The problem is difficult, and there is a wide divergence between the practical politics of to-day and the ideal possibilities of the future. Until, by demonstrating its utility and facilitating its completion, we have converted more parents in England to submit their sons to a secondary training, the Municipal School would probably be better advised to do one thing well rather than many things badly, and to send on to the Grammar School at an early age those boys who show promise of capacity to win a University Scholarship. But the time should not be distant when here, as in Germany, two or even three great day schools, giving alike a full secondary course to the age of nineteen, whether endowed by the State or by the city or by private benefaction, shall flourish in all our larger towns, and we shall "go one better" than Germany if we insist that each of these schools shall train for many walks of life by its several departments, that each shall have the same social prestige, and that each shall maintain its social inclusiveness by flinging its doors wide open to the able poor. Our object must be slowly to level up Municipal Schools, whether Secondary or Elementary, to our highest standard, educational opportunity outstripping and helping on the economic emancipation of the proletariat. Thus and thus only may we welcome unafraid the real, not nominal, rule of democracy, for we shall have enlightened "our masters."

Now if we are to make higher education for the poor a reality, we must insist on two things : (1) that whether by scholarships or free places

poorer boys of ability shall be given their opportunity in life, and (2) that ability as well as poverty shall be the condition of free entry to those schools at least which give a predominantly literary type of instruction. At present harm is being done by the confusion of two distinct ideals, the desire, on the one hand, to benefit both the nation and the individual by adequately training talented boys in whatever class they may be found, and, on the other hand, the wish to raise the educational level of the proletariat by offering further training to the average, as well as to the gifted, child. The usual means of making the first ideal effective is by the scholarship system; the second ideal finds a partial realisation in the insistence on a large percentage of free places inside each State-supported Secondary School, or in the erection of Lower Secondary Schools with more or less nominal fees. This second ideal, of free secondary education, is a reality in America and has entered the field of practical politics in France.

Nothing could be nobler or more useful than either, or both, of these two ideals. But we must legislate in view of the actual facts of the situation in England to-day and not forget that the problem is one of education as well as of social amelioration. We shall do harm and not good if, with mistaken generosity, we admit as free-placers in our great Secondary Schools boys who, by natural defect or inadequate preparation, are unable to profit by the instruction offered. The school must combat, not facilitate, that tendency towards a "dead level of mediocrity" which is the dark side of equalitarian reform, and it can properly accomplish its educational and social mission only by keeping its intellectual standard high, and by virtue of its instructional

excellence appealing to all classes of the community. By including the unfit poor we should certainly end in excluding the able sons of wealthier parents and defeat our own objects both as educators and as democrats. Our aim must be rather to level up elementary education until a greater and greater percentage of boys are ready and anxious for further study of the highest order, and meanwhile gradually to raise the social and intellectual standard of the cheaper Municipal Secondary School to parity with the great day schools by making it worth while for the best type of master to enter its service and by strengthening its "literary" side especially in the higher forms. All this, of course, implies increased State and local expenditure and some type of Civil Service for masters, so that they may, without loss of prestige or seniority, freely circulate among different kinds of schools.

As regards further education for the average children of the poor, that something must be done is evident when we consider that our Elementary School system delimits their studies alike by its age standard and by its curriculum, and that out of 2,400,000 children between twelve and sixteen years of age only 14,000 have hitherto found their way as free scholars to our Council Secondary Schools. This "wastage" of good material by neglect of training during the impressionable years of adolescence is at length being taken to heart, and it seems certain that some type of compulsory continued instruction, together with prohibition of "blind-alley" occupations, will within the next decade receive legislative sanction. Nothing, we may be sure, will be more useful, not merely as a business investment, but as a step towards the

intellectual growth and enlightened citizenship of the masses, and, as a corollary, towards the promotion of class fraternity. And I would urge in passing that such Continuation Schools increase indefinitely their utility if they are held, whenever possible, in a Lads' Club, as part and parcel of its institutional life. The Manchester Education Committee has already tried the experiment and found that it pays.¹ For the adolescent boy an all-round education, the growth of body, soul, and spirit in an atmosphere of corporate fellowship, is even more necessary than technical and literary instruction. The social unit required is to hand in our Lads' Club, and moreover here, if anywhere, the lesson of comradeship and mutual respect is being learnt by rich and poor alike.

Another agency of incalculable promise for the demolition of caste, though this time it affects rather youth than boyhood, is the recently founded Workers' Educational Association, which aims at carrying the culture of our Universities to a poorer and less literate type of student than is usually reached by the Extension Lectures. Especially in the northern manufacturing towns the movement has met with a ready response, and we hear of audiences of many hundreds, with most of their members under the age of thirty-four, and of classes in industrial history producing essays of which Mr. A. L. Smith, of Balliol, says that out of a large number selected by him at haphazard, at least one-third reached the level of a first class in the Oxford Modern History School. But it is admitted that the deficient previous education of many of the

¹ See "Working Lads Clubs," Russell and Rigby (Macmillan), pp. 173, *seq.*

students makes it very difficult for them to express themselves on paper, and it is imperative for the success of such adult instruction that the gulf between the Elementary Schools and manhood shall be bridged in some way. The national gain would be enormous were this continued education made obligatory for all boys and youths, and were they protected against nervous exhaustion by the prohibition of overtime employment, if the time is not yet ripe for enacting that a certain number of the weekly hours of labour shall be set free, without loss of wages, for systematic instruction. For, as Miss Loane well says in a recent book,¹ "when we really succeed in developing mental and moral sensitiveness in an individual, he conquers and transforms his circumstances," and our problem to-day is how to secure this moral and economic emancipation, not only for the exceptional boy who, as we are so fond of boasting, can already climb by our "educational ladder" from the Elementary School to the University, but also for our average boyhood and younger manhood. We are weakening, not strengthening, our working classes if we help their gifted members to "better themselves" by becoming *bourgeois*, and yet do nothing to elevate the rank and file of our workers. Social, not individualistic, betterment must be our aim, the giving of some chance to all and every chance to the boy with talents. Scholarships and Continuation Schools—both alike are needed; we have an equal, though by no means identical, duty to the individual and to the class.

Upon one other reform I must touch before leaving educational technicalities, the much-

¹ "Neighbours and Friends," Arnold.

needed reform of our scholarship system both in our Public Schools and in our Universities. To-day, though consciences are beginning to be pricked, we still see endowments, left for the most part to further the education of the able poor, shared, when not monopolised, by the sons of wealthier parents. Whether by growth of the moral sense or by legislation such abuse must end, and the rich stockbroker's son with brains must content himself with an honorary scholarship without emoluments. Meritorious poverty alone must be given financial assistance, and since the term "poverty" is relative, the help must be relative too, adjusted without publicity to individual needs. Again, especially in our day schools, we might make limited funds go much farther if we adopted the French system of half and quarter, as well as full, scholarships, the boy receiving assistance proportioned to his father's income and having his scholarship increased as he grows older and a greater load devolves upon his family by his being kept at school.

So far I have dealt with educational institutions as our readiest agency for caste-demolition. If I have gone into some detail, my excuse must be that little good is done by talking in the abstract, and that cheap and good education, whether at school or at the University, is the surest way in the long run of bringing rich and poor into prolonged and intimate intercourse during the most impressionable years of life. I shall now briefly refer to a few other means to the same end of class fraternity, all of which have been proved to make some useful contribution to the desired result. Singly, they seem slight enough; collectively, they bring about the right atmosphere and the right outlook. They succeed in the only way possible with boys, by

multiplying opportunities for certain sides of their nature to develop. And if nearly all the channels for the social spirit which I shall mention are connected with schools, though this time their source is the school's corporate life, not its classroom instruction—well, I am a schoolmaster, and the potentialities of the school are perhaps what I am least ignorant of. First and foremost in importance comes the School Mission or Lads' Club, supported by the school for the benefit of its poorer brethren in the slums. A day school will not be content with an annual yearly collection, but will seize every occasion for personal intercourse with the Mission it maintains. Every year the school will entertain some hundreds from the club, preferably just before its Christmas conversazione, when it can supplement a rabbit-pie supper with full-dress rehearsals of its concert and school play. The club in turn will throw open its doors to a return visit from the school, and will win the respect of the boys by its superiority in gymnastics and its skill in low comedy. Besides this there will be frequent joint harrier runs, and football, cricket, and chess matches can be arranged, while it is an excellent thing sometimes to get up joint swimming and athletic sports. Class distinctions are difficult to maintain amid the healthy rivalries of the open air, and "footer shorts" and naked bodies make for equality. The schoolboy and the "nipper" soon find that they have more common tastes than differences, and real comradeship results, free alike from condescension and from distrust. Some of the senior boys from the school, on Friday or Saturday nights, can profitably spend an evening at the club, and masters and boys should be associated with lads from the club

in the committee of management. It is not likely that boys who have regularly met in such an atmosphere will retain many shreds of class antipathy, whatever their sphere in after-life may be.¹

Another agency full of promise for the promotion of good-fellowship is the Summer Camp. Here we have an instrument for breaking down more barriers than one, the barrier which shuts off school from school, and day-boy from boarder, as well as that which separates the schoolboy in easy circumstances from the working lad. At Whitsuntide most of the lads' clubs in the North of England go into camp, and it is right that the school which supports the club shall furnish a certain number of senior boys as officers, and that some younger boys should be encouraged to fill a school tent or two amid the tents of the club. Many an Old Rugbeian will testify that it was his experience as an officer in the Rugby Mission Camp that first gave him an interest in the conditions of working-class life, and no atmosphere is so good as the rough-and-tumble, hearty life of camp for curing the maladies of conventionalism and caste prejudice. But Bootham's School is showing us an even better way to mutual understanding and respect. Every year it forms a joint camp for twenty-five of its own boys and twenty-five poorer lads, and finds nothing but gain resulting from such equality. We may hope that soon every school, even if it cannot soar to this democratic height, will at least include a few working lads' tents in its own annual camp, should it happen to run one.

¹ See article on "Lads' Clubs and the Secondary School," by F. P. Gibbon, in "Higher Education of Boys in England," by Norwood and Hope (Murray, 1909).

But the camp can, as I have said, be made a leveller of middle-class barriers also. Hitherto, apart from odd day schools, the camp movement has been most popular among the Free Churches, and there are three Free Church camps now held every year. They are an excellent means of bringing together boys from the smaller and greater Nonconformist Boarding Schools, with a small sprinkling of day-boys, and have achieved a merited success. To the writer, however, there seems more promise in the principle which underlies the Secondary Schoolboys' Camp which Mr. Whitehouse runs every summer at Weymouth. Here there is no question of Church or Chapel, Boarding School or Day School. All Secondary School boys alike are welcomed, and an opportunity is given to boys of different types of home and school to meet under conditions in which snobbishness and aloofness find no room to thrive.

So far I have chiefly spoken of means of intercourse between Secondary School boys and boys from the slums. There remains the even more difficult problem of bringing together, in some small way at any rate, the Secondary School and the Elementary School, and the different types of Secondary School in the same town. To-day, although many of its boys come from similar homes, the Grammar School, as a school, knows hardly anything of the Municipal School and even less of the Council School. To a great extent the fault lies in the hitherto unwisdom of failing to provide playing-fields and organised games for elementary scholars, since inter-school matches could easily be arranged were such provision made. Far too little has up to now been done for the corporate life of our people's schools, and, in some, initiative on the part of

the boys, such as the wish to start a school magazine, or get up a hockey club, meets with little encouragement. Still something, little enough it is true, can be done. If a Grammar School master takes a Boys' Reading Circle at a University settlement, he can, if it be held on Friday night, include a certain number of boys from his own school among the elementary scholars who come to him. If he organises a school Saturday Ramble, he can arrange sometimes to include boys of his acquaintance from the Municipal School, or some Council School, or the Lads' Club, among his wandering flock. As in camp, so on expeditions, the truth is soon realised that "a boy's a boy for a' that," whatever his school or accent. Mention may also be made of the new Society of Crusaders, which unites on Sundays the Higher School boys of a district, to inculcate the duty of chivalrous service of God and man, and it will be owned that the Boy Scout movement has done splendid work in bringing together boys of different ranks on Saturday afternoons.

So much for the potentialities of the school in breaking down caste among boys. As in everything, its best efforts will be ineffectual unless it is adequately backed by the training given in the home. It may be trusted that gradually the boy will be able to win his mother to a healthy disregard of class distinctions, for his power with her is mighty. To-day, however, she is often a dire obstacle, conservative of conventions, anticipating infection, keener upon keeping her boy uncontaminated by contact with the "lower classes" than upon helping him to know and love them. Yet, did she but know it, her power for good is boundless. If she trains her boy to use his hands and make himself of

service in the home, he will no longer despise servants and manual workers, and he will be ready to make himself of service in the world. If, at Christmas, she encourages him to provide a stocking or other treat for some poor little brother in the slums, he will certainly put his hand in his pocket to relieve distress when he is a man. If she will receive with hospitable welcome her boy's "pals," whether they live in the same type of villa or in a mean street, he will afterwards be more inclined to estimate men by their moral worth than by the position they keep up. If she but will, she can be, quite literally, a saviour of society.

In one thing especially home and school might well join hands—in the insistence on a simple, healthy, inexpensive type of dress for all boys. Dirt and foppishness are the great dividers, cleanliness and neatness the great uniters. Personally I should like to see a costume similar to the Scouts' jersey and "shorts" the normal dress of every boy, rich and poor. It is cheap and admittedly healthy. If a boy's knees are bare he will be more anxious to keep them clean by the morning tub. The very simplicity of the dress is its chief attraction, since most boys are comely animals enough to gain rather than lose by a costume that reveals their form. Carlyle taught us the philosophy of clothes; perhaps some day we shall apply it.

But my space is filled up. I would close by submitting that, if the greatness of a State depends upon its unity, upon the willing co-operation of all its members for the common good, upon the readiness of all to subordinate personal desires and ambitions to the welfare of society and the body politic, we shall be wise in promoting, with all our energy and interest, the

brotherhood of boys. We must turn to the rising generation, to those whom Disraeli well calls "the trustees of posterity," if we wish to see the beginnings of the City Wonderful established upon earth. If a spirit of mutual respect and helpfulness is developed in boyhood, then manhood will only confront our social problems to solve them. Simplicity of life; the conviction that a man's sole claim to distinction is neither brains, nor wealth, but service; the determination to provide for every citizen the chance of a life which shall be, in the words of Lord Morley of Blackburn, both "rich and austere," the modest sanity which fights for justice, but recognises superiority—such aims and principles are instinctive to a youth uncorrupted by "a singular and most degrading system of education." No one who knows them will deny that boys are naturally generous and chivalrous. No school-master will easily forget how their faces light up at the heroic stories of Greek and Roman patriotism—Leonidas at Thermopylæ, the return of Regulus to Carthage. To boys life is a quest, in search of their manhood's mission. It is for us to put them on the road to finding a mission that is noble and humane, remembering, as Mr. Branford says in the "Utopian Papers"¹ that the most consoling factor in our present chaos is "that there is always an oncoming crop of unspoiled boyhood, ready to be awakened to the inheritance of ideals."

¹ Masters & Co., 3s. 6d. net.

XVII

RECENT PARLIAMENTARY AND OTHER INQUIRIES CONCERNED WITH PROBLEMS OF BOY LIFE.

BY SPENCER J. GIBB

DURING recent years three Reports of great authority and fulness have added to the precision of our knowledge of the problem of boy labour and the questions related with it. These are the Majority and Minority Reports of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, the Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on Attendance at Continuation Schools, and the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption from School Attendance. These Reports are summarised in this chapter, in so far as they deal with problems of boy life.

I

THE REPORTS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE POOR LAWS (Cd. 4499), 1909.

The problem of boy labour holds a prominent place in the Reports of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws. The Commission were so much impressed by the evidence of evils resulting from casual work in boyhood that they appointed Mr. Cyril Jackson a special investigator into

this one aspect of the wide problem before them. His Report is published in a separate volume (Cd. 4632), and contains a large mass of evidence as to the industrial disablement of boys embarking upon discontinuous forms of work.

The majority and minority of the Commission agree as to the gravity of the evil, but differ in their recommendations for its removal. Their joint conclusions and separate suggestions are summarised below.

I. THE PROBLEM OF BOY LABOUR GENERALLY STATED.

“The almost universal experience is that, in large towns, boys, owing to carelessness or selfishness on the part of the parents, or their own want of knowledge and foresight—for the parents very often have little voice in the matter—plunge haphazard, immediately on leaving school, into occupations in which there is no future; where they earn wages sufficiently high to make them independent of parental control, and disinclined for the lower wages of apprenticeship; and whence, if they remain on, they are extruded when they grow to manhood. According to the main statistical sources of information available, the very serious fact emerges that between 70 per cent. and 80 per cent. of boys leaving Elementary Schools enter unskilled occupations. . . . All our investigations go to show that there is a regular drift from such boys’ occupations into the low-skilled labour market” (Majority Report, p. 325 (13)).

“There is no subject,” write the Minority, “as to which we have received so much and such conclusive evidence as upon the extent to which thousands of boys, from lack of any sort of training for industrial occupations, grow up, almost inevitably, so as to become chronically unemployed, or under-employed, and presently to recruit the ranks of the unemployable. . . . We regard this perpetual recruitment of the unemployable by tens of thousands of boys who, through neglect to pro-

vide them with suitable industrial training, may be said to graduate into unemployment as a matter of course, as perhaps the gravest of all the grave facts which the Commission has laid bare" (Minority Report, pp. 1165 and 1167).

2. ELEMENTS OF THE PROBLEM: BLIND-ALLEY WORK AND UNSKILLED WORK IN TRADES.

1. "The problem owes its rise in the main to the enormous growth of cities as distributive centres—chiefly and most disastrously, London—giving innumerable openings for errand-boys, milk-boys, office and shop-boys, bookstall-boys, van, lorry, and trace boys, street-callers, &c. In nearly all these occupations the training gained leads to nothing; and the occupations themselves are, in most cases, destructive to healthy development owing to long hours, long periods of standing, walking, or mere waiting, and morally are wholly demoralising" (Majority Report, p. 325 (13)).

2. Still worse is the position of boys who "on leaving school enter without apprenticeship into trades where there are no possible openings for them when grown up" (*e.g.*, loom-boys, doffers, shifters in cotton and woollen trades, rivet-boys in shipbuilding, drawers-off in saw-mills, packers in soapworks) (Majority Report, p. 326).

3. EVIDENCE OF INDUSTRIAL DISABLEMENT IN MANHOOD.

Professor Sadler mentioned, as an illustration of the "economic results of uneducative boy labour," that nearly one out of every three qualified applicants for assistance from the Distress Committees in 1905-6 and 1906-7 were

reported to be under thirty years of age (Majority Report, p. 408).

" In Glasgow nearly 20 per cent. of the labourers in distress are under twenty-five, and one half of them are under thirty-five. The registers of Distress Committees all over the country not only reveal the startling fact that something like 15 per cent. of the men in distress are under twenty-five, and that nearly one-third are under thirty, but also that an alarmingly large proportion of these young men are already 'chronic cases'—in fact, are unemployable."

The York Distress Committee report:—

" There are youths under twenty-one classified as 'irregular' and as 'been regular.' The irregular ones must always infallibly spend their whole lives as irregular workers. Many of them are the sons of the poorest class of workmen, but a few are youths whose parents have done their best for them, but who have not stuck to work. Those who have 'been regular' have generally started life as errand-boys or in some position where a boy can earn good money, but which does not offer the means of learning any trade that will serve him through life " (Minority Report, p. 1165).

4. THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE MAJORITY.

The Majority of the Committee recommend:—

1. The reconstruction of the curriculum of the Elementary School to make elementary education less literary, more practical, and better calculated to adapt the child to his future occupation (p. 440 (A), II. (6), pp. 409 and 553).

2. That boys should be kept at school until fifteen, exemption below this age being granted only to boys leaving school to learn a skilled trade (p. 440).

3. That there should be school supervision till sixteen, and replacement in school, if not properly employed.

4. There is urgent need for improved facilities for technical education after the present age for leaving school ; and a continuous system of physical drill should be instituted, beginning during school life, and continued afterwards (p. 440 (A), II. (8, 9)).

5. There should be established, in connection with the Labour Exchange, a special organisation for giving boys, parents, teachers, and school managers information and advice as to suitable occupations for children leaving school. The Commission attach great importance to this (pp. 440 (A), II. (10), and 408).

5. THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE MINORITY.

The Minority of the Commission are more drastic in their recommendations.

The old apprenticeship system cannot be restored.

“ Useful as evening Continuation Classes may be to particular individuals, it is impossible for boys who are exhausted by a whole day’s physical toil to obtain either physical training or the necessary technical education. We have therefore come to the conclusion that, if we want to turn into trained and competent workmen the 300,000 boys who now annually in the United Kingdom start wage-earning at something or other, there is only one practical plan. *We must shorten the legally permissible hours of employment for boys, and we must require them to spend the hours so set free in physical and technological training.*”

They accordingly recommend :—

1. The statutory prohibition of the employment of any boy in any occupation below the age of fifteen.

2. The limitation of the employment of any youth under eighteen to thirty hours a week.

3. The compulsory attendance of boys between fifteen and eighteen at a suitable public institute, giving physical training and technical education, for not less than thirty hours a week (p. 1191).

II

REPORT OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON ATTENDANCE, COMPULSORY OR OTHERWISE, AT CONTINUATION SCHOOLS, 1909 (Cd. 4757).

The Report of this Committee is one of the most valuable contributions yet made to the solution of educational and industrial problems of youth. Together with the Minutes of evidence, published in a second volume (Cd. 4758), it presents a complete, reasoned, and closely coherent examination of the problem of boy labour and of related questions. It should hold an important place in all subsequent discussion, and will, one hopes, become the basis of reform.

It is impossible in a summary to do justice to a Report so closely reasoned, so full of well-digested material, and offering recommendations so logically deduced from the evidence. One fears to give a false impression by separating details from a whole so firmly knit. All who are interested in the problems of boy life under the peculiar conditions of our time should study the Report itself. What is attempted here is to summarise, in some detail, the findings and recommendations of the Committee in their more general bearing, and, more briefly, the particular recommendations which apply specifically to attendance at Continuation Schools.

I. THE EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM (Chapters I. and II.).

The question is "urgent and complex," and, in approaching it, the Committee have found it necessary to "take a wide survey of public education." They find—

"that at the most critical period in their lives a very large majority of the boys and girls in England and Wales are left without any sufficient guidance and care. This neglect results in great waste of early promise, in injury to character, in the lessening of industrial efficiency, and in the lowering of ideals of personal and civic duty" (p. 16).

An estimate of the numerical extent of the problem is reached by a searching analysis of the available statistics, which, however, are not complete.

Confining themselves, for the most part, to the question as it concerns boys and girls before they reach their seventeenth birthday, the Committee estimate :—

1. That the numbers of children between twelve and fourteen totally exempted from day school attendance, and therefore eligible for Continuation Schools may be approximately given as 211, 164.

2. "That there are rather over two million boys and girls" between fourteen and seventeen in England and Wales, and "that three-quarters of them are at present, on week-days at any rate, under no educational care" (p. 27) (*i.e.*, 74·08 *per cent.* of the whole number at that age (p. 28)).

The number of boys is estimated at 750,000 (p. 28).

2. THE NEED FOR EDUCATIONAL CARE DURING ADOLESCENCE (Chapter III.).

(1) Changed industrial conditions, especially the decay of apprenticeship, make educational

care during adolescence urgently necessary (p. 33).

Improved day-school training alone would not be sufficient.

“ It is impossible to suppose that any school training, however successful, would not leave many boys and girls in sore need of further discipline and training during the important years which follow the day-school period ” (p. 34).

(2) There is a lack of physical training during adolescence, and it is important that the lack should be supplied.

It is estimated (Mr. Douglas Eyre) that not more than 5 per cent. of the youth of the industrial population are touched by physical training (pp. 34, 35).

“ The Committee lay emphatic stress on the need for continued and systematic care of the body during adolescence, as well as during the day-school period ” (p. 34).

The fact that boys and girls after their day's work may be too fatigued for severe forms of gymnastic exercises suggests only, for them, less tiring forms of physical training ; and “ in any case pupils ought to be protected from a degree of fatigue which hinders their due development of mind and body at a critical period of their growth ” (p. 35).

“ Physical exercises,” therefore, “ should take a more prominent place than at present in Continuation Schools,” and “ every Continuation School should have a convenient place for such courses.” Further, for the younger pupils, school playgrounds might be opened for organised games on summer evenings (p. 36).

(3) Educational changes are called for by changes in industrial and social outlook.

Such changes are :—

- (a) The decay of apprenticeship (p. 37).
 - (b) “ New developments of the factory system ” multiplying “ opportunities of non-educative employment . . . during adolescence ” (p. 37).
 - (c) “ The immense development of the transport trades, and the extension of facilities for communication, have led to a large use of boy labour, in forms often in themselves non-educative or unsettling, and not conducive to permanent adult employment ” (p. 38).
- “ Thus the economic and industrial changes of the last generation have pushed forward into adolescence the danger zone of juvenile employment ” (p. 38).

“ Organised efforts are needed to counteract the hurtful effects of these new economic developments,” and in such efforts State action is a necessary factor. “ The measures needed to counteract the mischief referred to above will be partly educational, partly regulative of the hours and conditions of employment. By itself, the multiplication of technical classes will not meet the need. Nor, on the other hand, is it practicable to revive forms of apprenticeship which economic changes have made obsolete. But there is need for a revival of the spirit and purpose of the best forms of the old apprenticeship. This would be secured by the statutory recognition and enforcement of the principle that every young worker employed during adolescence should, as part of his or her duties, receive suitable preparation for some adult calling. The application of this principle means the dovetailing of education into industry by a new form of the half-time or part-time system, deferred till adolescence. The Continuation Class must be fitted into the hours of employment in such a way as to keep adaptive the mind of the young worker, and to

retain in freshness the habit of learning new things. But the hours of education and wage-earning employment must, when combined, leave a sufficient margin of time for rest and recreation " (p. 39).

3. THE NECESSITY FOR BETTER EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION IN THE DAY SCHOOL (Chapter IV.).

(1) Improvements needed in the staffing and course of study in the Public Elementary Schools.

Large classes are a hindrance to educational efficiency. "Classes of sixty children and more are frequently found, and . . . there is no doubt that large and unwieldy classes are the rule and not the exception" (p. 52).

The results are :—

- (a) Attention tends to be devoted to mere maintenance of order, rather than to education; and
- (b) Teachers can gain no personal knowledge of their pupils.
- (c) Teaching takes too exclusively the form of exposition (p. 52).

The Committee, therefore, recommend :—

The reduction of the size of classes and the increase of the proportion of qualified teachers (p. 233; cp. 52 and 216).

(2) Reform is needed in the curriculum.

The Committee strongly hold that "within certain age limits the brain development of children is better secured if their hands are brought into play than if they are wholly confined to book instruction."

Therefore they think that :—

“ Manual instruction should in some form enter into the curriculum of all schools for older scholars ” (p. 55).

(3) The efficiency of the day school is further hindered by “ the intermittent attendance at school of those children who may be said to be regularly irregular ” (p. 55).

Regularity of attendance should, therefore, be improved (p. 233).

(4) The desirability of extending the period of attendance at the day school.

Arguments in favour of raising the present school age :—

- (i.) The educational process of the day school is not complete before fourteen.
- (ii.) “ The physical powers of children are so immature that it is injurious to give them long hours of work, however light, before they are fourteen years old.”
- (iii.) “ Children under fourteen are too young to take their place in industrial life, and should remain subject to moral influences and restraints till they are nearer an age when good habits and character may be regarded as more stable ” (p. 56).

Arguments against raising the school age :—

- (i.) “ The raising of the school age would involve a dislocation of industry.”

Reply:—

- (a) The majority of witnesses did not think so.

- (b) The number of workers between twelve and fourteen in any trade bears a very small ratio to the total number so employed.
- (c) Over the whole of Scotland, in London, and in other parts of England and Wales half-time has already been abolished, and the age of exemption has been raised on an average to nearly fourteen.
- (ii.) The wages of the children are a necessity to poor parents.

Reply:—

- (a) This difficulty is met in places where the school age is already fourteen.
- (b) Exemptions might be granted in cases of real hardship.
- (c) “Even from the financial point of view, parents would get some indirect compensation by the removal of the competition of child labour” (p. 57).
- (iii.) Education in the Elementary Schools is not practical enough to make its continuance desirable.

Reply:—

This objection has been anticipated in the recommendations regarding the improvement of the efficiency of the day school already quoted.

The conclusions of the Committee on this point are quoted in full:—

“The Committee may sum up their view of the situation by stating that they regard the raising of

the school age and the abolition of half-time by gradual stages as the necessary basis of a sound Continuation School system. They must not be taken, however, to advocate a rigid system which knows no exemptions. They are aware that a certain number of exemptions are inevitable. If, for instance, it could clearly be shown that the prosperity of a trade or occupation in which children were permanently and beneficially employed really required that they should begin their work before fourteen, full-time exemption might be allowed at thirteen if the local Education Authority decided, with the approval of the Board of Education, to pass a bylaw to that effect. In agriculture . . . the Committee do not at present recommend the raising of the age beyond thirteen. . . . In addition the Committee would allow local Education Authorities to grant exemptions to children between twelve and fourteen in exceptional cases on the usual Scotch lines. But such exemptions should be very rare, especially in the case of children between twelve and thirteen, and, like all others, should be subject to the same departmental control as is provided for by Section 3 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1901. The Committee consider that special ability or regular attendance should be regarded as reasons for keeping children at school—not, as at present, for sanctioning their absence” (pp. 58 and 59).

(5) The need for lessening the drain on the energies of the day-school pupils caused by exhausting or demoralising employments out of school hours.

The Committee are informed, as to the working of bylaws under the Employment of Children Act, 1903, that—

“ the effect generally as regards school attendance has been to secure increased regularity, and that it would appear that the restrictions placed upon employment by the provisions of the bylaws as to the hours during which children may be employed,

&c., have tended to diminish the employment of children of school age. But the Committee notice with great regret that only a very small minority of local authorities have as yet made bylaws under the Act. . . . The Committee earnestly trust that in the interests of school children the provisions of the Act of 1903 may become more generally adopted. In a great many cases such children are still grievously overworked out of school hours, and in consequence many of them are too tired to profit by their instruction in the day school, and so rendered unfit for further education later on" (p. 60).

4. THE PRESENT WASTE DURING ADOLESCENCE OF THE RESULTS OF DAY-SCHOOL TRAINING THROUGH EDUCATIONAL NEGLECT AND DEMORALISING FORMS OF EMPLOYMENT (Chapter V.).

It is vitally important, in the national interest, to find means for securing young boys and girls during adolescence from educational neglect and demoralising forms of employment. This is "an evil peculiar to adolescence, which the raising of the age at which children leave the day school may mitigate, but will not radically cure" (pp. 61, 62).

"It seems clear that the most dangerous point in the lives of children in an Elementary School is the moment at which they leave it." The difficulty is partly due to the ignorance of parents as to the prospects and conditions of different forms of employment; and, though voluntary effort has done much, it cannot, alone, remedy the evil.

"What is required is more systematic organisation in each district, and a central bureau where parents, employers, teachers, and pupils could obtain the necessary information and advice.

“The bureau or junior employment registry would collect, and keep up to date, information as to the wages in different industries and callings, and as to the prospects of employment in them. These materials would be at the service of teachers, parents, and others interested in the wise selection of occupations for young people. The work of the registry should receive some subsidy from public funds. But in its organisation and management voluntary effort should be utilised, and, so far as possible, its committee of management should enjoy the independence which belongs to voluntary effort. To place the work of the registry under exclusively public control would, in the Committee’s judgment, be a mistake.

“The labours of the junior employment registry should not be restricted to children only at the point of leaving school. For many reasons it appears inevitable that a certain proportion of children must at first take employments in trades which offer them no permanent careers. It may be that the trade to which they mean to be apprenticed eventually will not take them till they are fifteen or sixteen years old. It may be that from stress of circumstances they may be compelled to take to any work which offers them good wages for the moment. But, whatever the cause, the junior employment registry should not confine itself exclusively to placing school children at work, but should continue its work for them throughout the difficult period of adolescence” (pp. 63 and 64).

But, further :—

“The Committee have already suggested the raising of the school age to fourteen. They are prepared to go farther and recommend that no boys or girls under sixteen years of age shall be allowed to leave school, even at fourteen, unless they can show that they are going to be properly occupied. “Beneficial employment” is already made a condition of exemption in bylaws (though a rather more stringent interpretation of the phrase is desirable) and the Committee see no reason why the principle should not be extended farther. If children have

got no work to do, it is no privation to their parents to retain them at school. On the other hand, all experience seems to show that it may save them from temptations which may prove disastrous to them.

“ In order to give practical effect to this suggestion, it would be necessary for the local Education Authority to extend their existing registers of school children so as to include in them a list of children in the district up to sixteen years of age. Exemption from school attendance would be allowed at fourteen, provided that the child was suitably employed. In the case of girls, employment in home duties would, of course, be counted as falling under this head. If a child under sixteen who had been exempted from day-school attendance in order to enter upon approved employment ceased to be employed, the requirement to attend the day school would again have to be complied with, and would be enforced by the school attendance officer. It would be necessary to make special provision for the children thus brought back to school. In classes so organised the work of the pupils should be of a very practical character ” (p. 65).

5. THE NEED AND PROVISION OF CONTINUED EDUCATION (Chapters VI. to XIV.).

1. The urgent need for continued care and education during adolescence has already been completely demonstrated. Seventy-five per cent. of the two million boys and girls in England and Wales between fourteen and seventeen receive, on weekdays, no school education. “ It is clear to the Committee that the lack of continued educational care during the years of adolescence is one of the deeper causes of national unemployment ” (p. 219).

2. There has been a recent growth of Continuation Schools. Voluntary effort—the advice of the Board of Education, the experiments of more progressive local Educational Authorities,

the co-operation of employers, the increasing interest of workpeople—has done much. More may still be done in the same direction; and the Committee make valuable detailed suggestions as to the methods by which Education Authorities, employers, and teachers may increase attendance at Continuation Classes (p. 221; cp. 117, 118).

3. Within the Continuation School—

“the curriculum should aim at providing a good general education which equips men and women for intelligent citizenship as well as at supplying workers with that technical knowledge which they cannot sufficiently obtain in the ordinary course of their occupations, and with that adaptability which appears to be one of the most valuable possessions of workpeople under modern industrial conditions. . . . Furthermore, great stress should be laid on the necessity of providing opportunities for physical training; and certain kinds of recreative occupations should be regarded as a useful element in Continuation School work” (p. 222, cp. 34-6, 113).

4. The Committee conclude, however, that “voluntary methods alone will not solve the whole of the problem.”

There are obstacles which constantly stand in the way of the complete success of any voluntary system:—

- (1) The apathy of some local authorities, some parents, and some employers (p. 223; cp. 126, 128).
- (2) The fatigue of pupils after their day's work, unfitting them to profit by systematic attendance at Continuation Schools (p. 223; cp. 130, 170).
- (3) The early age of day-school exemption,

creating the impression that educational care during adolescence is unnecessary (p. 224; cp. 133).

5. "The Committee have, therefore, come to the conclusion that a compulsory system will ultimately be advantageous."

Mindful, however, "of the many difficulties in the way of a general introduction of compulsory attendance at Continuation Schools," they recognise that "it would be unwise to attempt to force upon the nation a universal measure of compulsion for which public opinion in many districts was insufficiently prepared" (p. 224; cp. 135-44, 178).

6. The Committee, therefore, recommend:—

- (1) That every local Education Authority should be required to make further education available for all young persons who demand it, from the time they leave school up to their seventeenth birthday (p. 224). Such provision is to include instruction in the laws of health and opportunities of suitable physical training.
- (2) But attendance at such classes should be made compulsory only when the local Education Authority adopts bylaws to that effect (p. 225; cp. 178-83).
- (3) The Committee proceed to describe the method by which, under such a system of local bylaws, the principle of compulsory attendance at Continuation Schools might be effectively applied:—
 - (i.) Employers should be obliged by Statute to enable workers under seventeen to attend Continuation Classes for periods

and at hours prescribed by bylaws. Such bylaws should be framed after consultation with employers, and need not be the same for all parts of one district, or for all workers (pp. 225, 226).

- (ii.) A register of young persons and a record of their employment should be kept by each local Education Authority, and young persons kept under observation by an officer of the Authority.
- (iii.) Every Continuation School pupil should be furnished with a card on which the Continuation School teacher should record his attendances. The employer should be required to satisfy himself by inspection of the card that the required attendances were being made (p. 226).
- (iv.) Employers or parents contravening the regulations, or abetting contravention, would be liable to penalty (p. 226).
- (v.) The young persons unreachable by the authority of parents or employers would probably be, for the most part, street-sellers.

"The Committee would meet this difficulty by prohibiting all street-selling by boys and girls under seventeen, except in the case of those who were formally licensed by the Local Authority, and the licence should be valueless unless accompanied by a recent card of attendance, showing that the holder was making the necessary attendance at the Continuation School " (p. 226).

- (vi.) Should it happen that in two contiguous districts the bylaws differ, juvenile workers, living in one district and working in the other, should be bound by the more stringent regulations.

7. " In order to protect adolescent workpeople from the danger of overstrain through the double pressure of wage-earning and educational duties, the bylaw should provide, when necessary, for reasonable curtailment of the hours of labour of young people " (p. 227 (17)).

The Committee believe that disorganisation of trade resulting from these provisions could be minimised by co-operation between the local Authorities on the one hand and representative employers and workpeople on the other ; and that " the pecuniary loss entailed by the gradual introduction of compulsory attendance at Continuation School would in most cases be insignificant."

" They believe also that the additional expenditure from public funds entailed by the more systematic organisation of Continuation Schools, and the financial sacrifice which the adoption of the compulsory system would entail on individuals, would be far more than recouped, and at no distant date, through the increased economic efficiency of the workers, and by the enhanced adaptiveness to new conditions, which would result from a continued and practical education " (p. 228).

III

REPORT OF THE INTER-DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON PARTIAL EXEMPTION FROM SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

I. THE PRESENT EXTENT OF PARTIAL EXEMPTION.

Partial exemption may be obtained at twelve, or, by local bylaws, for purposes of agriculture, between eleven and thirteen.

The partial exemption system is used chiefly in the cotton mills of Lancashire, in the worsted

spinning and weaving industry of Yorkshire, and in a few other counties for agricultural purposes. "It is not by any means the case that in all the areas where partial exemption regulations exist the population care to avail themselves of it" (p. 2, 16).

According to the most accurate figures, the number of partial exemption scholars in the year 1906-7 was 47,360. 20,302 were in Lancashire (majority employed in cotton mills), 10,517 were in Yorkshire (majority in worsted manufactures), 3,800 were exempted for employment in agriculture.

9,254 were employed in miscellaneous occupations, most of the boys being employed as shop errand-boys (p. 3, 17).

There was a rapid fall in the numbers of partial exemption scholars between 1890 (when the numbers were 175,437) and 1899 (when the numbers were 95,621). In 1900-1 the numbers fell to 74,468, probably owing to the raising of the partial exemption age from eleven to twelve by Robson's Act. Since then there has been a steady rise, till in 1907-8 the numbers had reached 84,298.

2. THE RESULT OF HALF-TIME LABOUR UPON EDUCATION.

"The opinion of the teachers in the schools is practically unanimous in desiring the cessation of the system."

They complain :—

1. That the attention of the children is divided between school and mill, to the detriment of their education.
2. That they come to school tired and sleepy.

3. That the organisation of the school, particularly in the higher standards, is impaired, to the loss, not only of the half-time, but also of the full-time, scholars.

“The educational loss of the half-timer may be gauged by the small extent to which he takes advantage of opportunities for further education which offer themselves to children leaving Public Elementary Schools” (pp. 4 and 5, 24-8 ; p. 7, 35).

3. THE EFFECT OF HALF-TIME LABOUR ON THE CHARACTER OF THE CHILDREN.

While the Committee think that the evil moral influence of mill work has been somewhat exaggerated, they say:—

“We have certainly a considerable consensus of evidence that a coarseness of the children does in many cases set in. . . . The teachers complain that many of the children become addicted to bad language and roughness of manners to the general detriment of the schools, and in some cases the boys especially become less amenable to discipline” (p. 6, 29).

4. THE EFFECT OF HALF-TIME LABOUR ON THE HEALTH OF THE CHILDREN.

While the Committee are not prepared to say that “half-time is the main cause of inferior physique to be found among factory hands,” they add:—

“Child-labour, especially indoors, is liable, except under the most ideal conditions, to be inferior to school life ; and there have been placed before us the results of several statistical investigations made in more than one half-time town,

which indicate distinctly that the weight and chest measurement, and sometimes the height, of half-time children are less than those of full-time children in the same place and of the same age " (pp. 6, 7, 31).

5. THE INDUSTRIAL VALUE OF HALF-TIME LABOUR.

1. In agriculture.

"In the case of partial exemption for agriculture, very little attempt was made to argue that it had any value as training"; and the Committee are satisfied "that as far as the Partial Exemption provisions in rural districts are concerned, they do not have the effect of giving the children any useful agricultural training, and are practically of little advantage to the farmer" (pp. 8 and 9, 42-4).

2. In textile trades.

The opinion of employers differs widely; but certain facts and considerations have impressed the Committee:—

- (1) "In a good many cases half-time has been voluntarily abolished by the management of mills" (p. 10, 46).
- (2) In mills where half-time is used several cases were met with in which the management was willing and anxious to abolish it (p. 10, 47-9).
- (3) The strongest defence of half-time labour as a necessary means of training came from Bradford. But the Committee discovered that here most of the boys are subsequently ousted by girls and women; and "as far as the boys are concerned, the system seems calculated to create casual and unskilled male labour" (p. 10, 50-4).

The Committee, therefore, "feel compelled to doubt whether there is anything in the processes of cotton and worsted spinning and weaving which differentiates them so completely from other industries as to make it essential to have children at twelve to commence labour."

6. HALF-TIME WAGES AS A RELIEF FOR POVERTY.

"It is frequently asserted that the reason why half-time is supported by many of the working class is because it provides wages for the families of widows and others in straitened circumstances."

But :—

1. Though there are cases where the half-time wage may save a family from serious distress or application for poor relief, such cases are not very numerous, and are certainly not the main reason for the continuance of half-time (p. 12, 62).
2. The employment of half-timers bears no relation to the poverty statistics. There is even a tendency for half-time to increase as poverty decreases (p. 12, 63).

7. RECOMMENDATIONS.

1. "After reviewing all the conditions of partial exemption," the Committee "are unable to recommend its continuance," and they do not consider that there would be any advantage in abolishing partial exemption in stages (pp. 13 and 14, 71 and 72).

They, therefore, recommend: "That all partial exemption be abolished from a date not earlier than January 1, 1911" (pp. 18, 91 (1)).

2. With regard to total exemption, the Committee do not feel called upon to make any definite recommendation with regard to the alteration of total exemption over the age of thirteen. But, believing the conditions now required for total exemption to be "neither educational or reasonable," they recommend:—

That at the same time total exemption under the age of thirteen be abolished, and that the attendance certificate for total exemption be also abolished (pp. 18, 91 (3) (4)).

3. Total exemption at thirteen should be granted only for the purposes of beneficial or necessary employment; and the ordinary condition for total exemption should be due attendance at a Continuation Class. But, subject to the approval of the Board of Education, an authority may adopt as an alternative condition the passing of a standard not lower than Standard V. (pp. 18, 91 (4) (5) (6)).

All matters connected with the education of children, whether employed in factories or not, should be dealt with under the Education Acts (p. 15, 83).

XVIII

THE COMPULSORY AGE FOR SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

THE following details are based upon the information recently issued ¹ through the House of Commons respecting the ages at which compulsory education begins and ceases respectively in the following countries :—

FRANCE.

Begins on the completion of the sixth year.

Ceases on the completion of the thirteenth year. Children who obtain the *Certificat d'Etudes* may be exempted from further attendance. This *Certificat* can be obtained at the age of eleven.

GERMAN EMPIRE.

BADEN.

Begins on the completion of the sixth year. The school year begins at Easter. If a child attains the age of six between Easter and the 30th June in any year, it becomes liable to school attendance at the opening of the school session in that year.

The child leaves school at Easter in the year in which it attains its fourteenth birthday provided that birthday falls before June 30th.

¹ Spring, 1911.

BAVARIA.

Begins on the completion of the sixth year.

Ceases on the completion of the thirteenth year.

PRUSSIA.

There is no general school law which applies to all the provinces of this kingdom. In some parts of the kingdom the obligation to attend school begins on the completion of the child's fifth year; in the rest of the country one year later, but as a matter of general practice, children are not compelled to attend before they have completed their sixth year.

Ceases on the completion of the fourteenth year.

SAXE-WEIMAR.

Begins on the completion of the sixth year.

Ceases on the completion of the fourteenth year. Children may be retained until the completion of the fifteenth year if their progress is unsatisfactory.

SAXONY.

The obligation is to attend the elementary school for a period of eight years, which, as a rule, begins on the completion of the child's sixth year.

Ceases on the completion of the fourteenth year.

WURTEMBERG.

Begins on the completion of the seventh year.

Ceases at the end of April in the year in which the child attains its fourteenth birthday. Children may be retained at school an additional year, if their progress is unsatisfactory.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

AUSTRIA.

Commences at the beginning of the school year after the child has attained its sixth birthday.

Ceases on the completion of the fourteenth year. Children receive leaving certificates on leaving school, and if they cannot obtain their certificates, they must remain at school beyond the compulsory limit.

HUNGARY.

Begins at six years of age.

Ceases at twelve years of age.

HOLLAND.

Begins at seven years of age.

Ceases at twelve years of age. Children who do not succeed in reaching a prescribed standard may be retained at school till the age of thirteen.

ITALY.

Begins at six years of age.

Ceases at twelve years of age; except in the case of communes which make provision only for the lower elementary course, in which case children are exempt at the age of nine.

PORTUGAL.

Begins at six years of age.

Ceases at twelve years of age. Pupils who obtain the *Certificat d'Etudes du I. Degré*, may be exempted before reaching the age of twelve.

CANADA.

ALBERTA.

Begins at seven years of age.

Ceases at fourteen years of age. Children

who have passed the Public School Leaving Examination may obtain exemption at an earlier age.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Begins at seven years of age.

Ceases at fourteen years of age.

MANITOBA.

No statutory compulsion.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

There is a Compulsory Attendance Act, which it is optional for the School Trustees of a district to make operative in that district. This Act requires children to attend school between the ages of seven and twelve years inclusive in rural districts, and between the ages of six and sixteen inclusive in cities and towns. Exemption may be granted to children over twelve if necessity compels them to work.

NOVA SCOTIA.

Compulsory attendance left to local option. There are two Acts under which compulsory attendance may be enforced—(1) the Education Act of 1900, and (2) the Towns Compulsory Attendance Act of 1900. The latter, which requires attendance between the ages of six and sixteen but admits of exemption in the case of children over twelve who have passed a specified examination, can be adopted in incorporated towns only. A rural area which desires compulsion can enforce it by adopting the compulsory clause of the Education Act, 1900, which requires attendance between the ages of seven and twelve.

ONTARIO.

Begins at eight years of age.

Ceases at fourteen years of age. Children who have passed the entrance examination for High Schools may obtain exemption before the age of fourteen.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

Begins at eight years of age.

Ceases at thirteen years of age.

QUEBEC.

No statutory compulsion.

SASKATCHEWAN.

Begins at seven years of age.

Ceases at twelve years of age.

AUSTRALIA.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

Begins at six years of age.

Ceases at fourteen years of age. Exemption may be obtained at an earlier age if the child holds a certificate of having reached a prescribed standard—*i.e.*, reading, writing, and arithmetic up to the standard of the fourth class of the primary school.

QUEENSLAND.

Begins at six years of age.

Ceases at twelve years of age. Exemption may be obtained at an earlier age if the child holds a certificate of having reached a prescribed standard—*i.e.*, a competent knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic, to the satisfaction of an inspector of schools.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Begins at seven years of age.

Ceases at thirteen years of age. Exemption may be obtained at an earlier age if the child has been educated up to the compulsory standard—*i.e.*, reading, writing, and arithmetic, as specified for the fourth class of the primary school.

TASMANIA.

Begins at seven years of age.

Ceases at thirteen years of age. Children who have been educated up to the compulsory standard—*i.e.*, proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic, to the satisfaction of an inspector of schools—may obtain exemption at the age of eleven.

VICTORIA.

Begins at six years of age.

Ceases at fourteen years of age. Children who have obtained a merit certificate may obtain exemption at the age of twelve.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

Begins at six years of age.

Ceases at fourteen years of age.

NEW ZEALAND.

Begins at seven years of age.

Ceases at twelve years of age. Children who hold certificates of having completed the fifth standard may obtain exemption at an earlier age.

SOUTH AFRICA.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE PROVINCE.

Any School Board may pass a resolution to make attendance at school compulsory on all

children of European parentage who have completed their seventh but not their fourteenth year.

NATAL PROVINCE.¹

Begins at seven years of age.

Ceases at fourteen years of age. Children who have completed the fifth standard of primary schools and are in regular employment may be exempted at an earlier age.

ORANGE FREE STATE PROVINCE.¹

Begins at seven years of age.

Ceases at sixteen years of age. Children who are in regular employment and have completed the course of the fourth standard of primary schools may be exempted at an earlier age.

TRANSVAAL PROVINCE.¹

Begins at seven years of age.

Ceases at fourteen years of age. Children who have completed the course of the fourth standard of primary schools and are in regular employment may be exempted at an earlier age.

¹ Applicable only to white children.

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